CTOBER 5, 1992 49145 $2.95 VOL. 44 NO. 19

Bill Bennett, Rush Limbaugh, Hadley Arkes Coach the President

NATIONAL REVIEW

OLUMBUS — GOOD GUY OR BAD GUY?

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Women In the Military by David Horowitz

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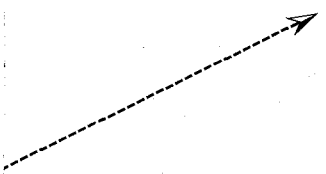

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NATIONAL REVIEW

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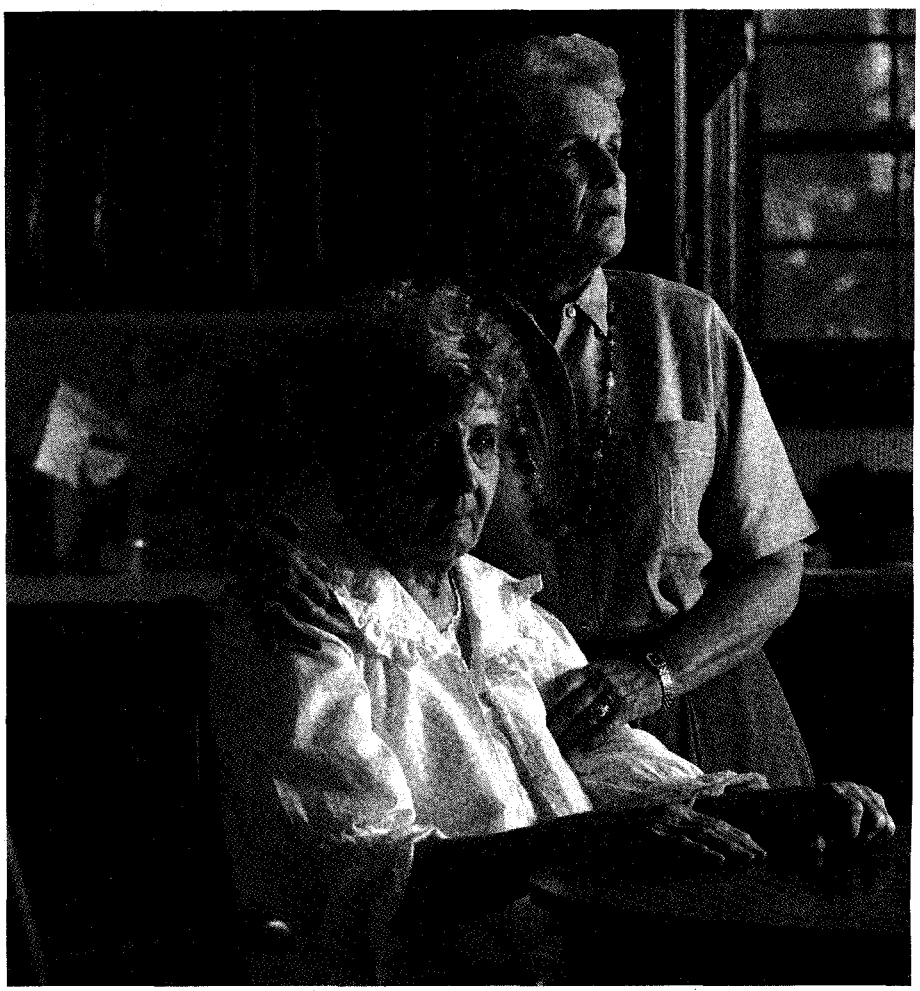

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LETTERS

Sic

NATIONAL REVIEW is wrong to imply ["The Week," Aug. 31] that Republicans for Choice (RFC) has fallen short of its goals. RFC is the fastest-growing pro-choice Republican organization in the country.

As for candidates RFC has backed, you chose to highlight one race that was lost—the contest between Bruce Herschensohn and Tom Campbell—because a third candidate (Sonny Bono) entered the race and split the pro-choice Republican vote. You failed to mention RFC-backed candidates like John Seymour, Bill Filante, Holly Cork, and a host of others who made it through their primaries easily and are favored to win.

I was confused by your interpretation of events in Salt Lake City. How can you call my efforts there a failure when the hearings were called as a result of RFC-orchestrated lobbying of the Republican National Committee? We had a tremendous presence in Utah and our evening rally was almost twice the size of the anti-choice rally held at noon by Phyllis Schlafly. The only aspect of our involvement that could possibly be questioned was if we were treated fairly.

The comparison of my effort and that of Governor Casey is far-fetched. I represent the views of the majority of the Republican Party, while Governor Casey represents a small minority of the Democratic Party. The GOP is being controlled by a faction that does not represent the views of the body as a whole.

The RFC choice-mobile was sponsored by RFC alone. NOW and NARAL are not connected to us.

I have not had to sell my story to the media because the public is deeply concerned with the future of abortion rights. The media is an avenue you yourselves exploit to communicate your views. At least I have used it responsibly.

Ann Stone
National Chairman, RFC
Alexandria, Va.

An analysis of winners of GOP congressional primaries through September 8 yields the following breakdown: 68 per cent pro-life, 22 per cent pro-choice, and 10 per cent mixed or unclear.

With regard to the platform hearings in Salt Lake City, we defer to an on-the-record statement by RNC deputy press secretary Ellen Murray: "The platform hearings are something the party holds regularly every four years and were not the result of lobbying by RFC."

As for Mrs. Stone's claim that NOW and NARAL are "not connected" with RFC, a brochure announcing RFC "tentative events" for the Republican Convention lists events sponsored by NOW, NARAL, Planned Parenthood, etc. RFC's Brooke Bascom said that RFC was "working in conjunction with those groups at the state level."

The most serious indictment of Ann Stone is that she has met none of her original (if deliberately vague) goals. She has raised nowhere near the $1.5 to $3 million trumpeted in the Washington Post *when she first started her organization. In her defense against a hostile article in* Legal Times, *Mrs. Stone emphasized that RFC's "first goal" was to change the GOP platform language. But in the past few months she was soundly defeated on pro-life resolutions in Virginia's 8th District (her own backyard), in the state, and in the platform hearings, not to mention in Houston, where she was trounced 84 to 16 in the full committee. As William McGurn has pointed out ["Throwing Stones," May 11], the only thing Mrs. Stone has proved adept at is press publicity for her number-one client: herself.* —ED.

PR Problems

John Barnes's article ["Proportional Deception," July 20] about proportional representation (PR) and the founding meeting of a grassroots group called Citizens for Proportional Representation (CPR!) is aptly titled. It is chock full of deceptions about PR.

The first deception relates to quotes attributed to me. Mr. Barnes, who did not take notes during my brief conversations with him, indicates that I implied that Italy, Israel, and Poland had "the wrong kind" of PR and that "we [meaning CPR!] favor STV"—the single-transferable-vote method of PR. Not only did I not say those things, I don't hold that opinion. As president of CPR!, I have been careful not to stake out a personal preference with regard to STV or party-list PR. Moreover, CPR! does not officially endorse any particular PR system.

Mr. Barnes deceives your readers on other points too numerous to list. It's deceptive not to give a simple definition of PR—a voting system that allocates legislative seats *in proportion* to the percentage of votes received by individuals or parties. It's deceptive to pick unstable countries (Italy, etc.) and cite PR as the cause of their political instability while ignoring politically stable PR countries (Sweden, Germany, Norway, etc.).

Since PR merely allocates seats according to voter preferences, one should blame the voters for fragmentation. But if you blame voters, you would be blaming democracy. To paraphrase the NRA about guns: "PR doesn't create political fragmentation. Voters do."

Matthew Cossolotto
President, CPR!
Alexandria, Va.

Reviewing my notes from the conference, I am satisfied that I did not misrepresent the views of CPR! Several participants told me that Italy and Israel had adopted "wrong" forms of PR that caused many of the problems I alluded to in the article. While CPR! might not actually endorse the Single Transferable Vote, any fair-minded observer at the conference could be forgiven for thinking otherwise.

As for the rest of Mr. Cossolotto's comments on the desirability of PR, these are, I think, matters of opinion. The fact remains that countries that adopt PR tend to have fragmented, unstable governments and countries that don't have it, generally speaking, do not. —JB

From the Hip

In his column supporting the Brady Bill ["On the Right," Aug. 31] Mr. Buckley opined that it is time to give up fanatical interpretations of the Second Amendment and put conditions on the sale of handguns, for the purpose of indicating that we recognize crime as rampant. There are much better ways to prove that we recognize crime as rampant. Three-quarters of the violent crimes in America are committed by career criminals. What we should do is work to put the criminal-justice system back on track. Get judges, prosecutors, and the system to stop coddling criminals. Meanwhile, I suggest we give some serious consideration to the Gun Owners of America bumper sticker: "Fight Crime—Shoot Back."

Charles K. Esposito
Dunwoody, Ga.

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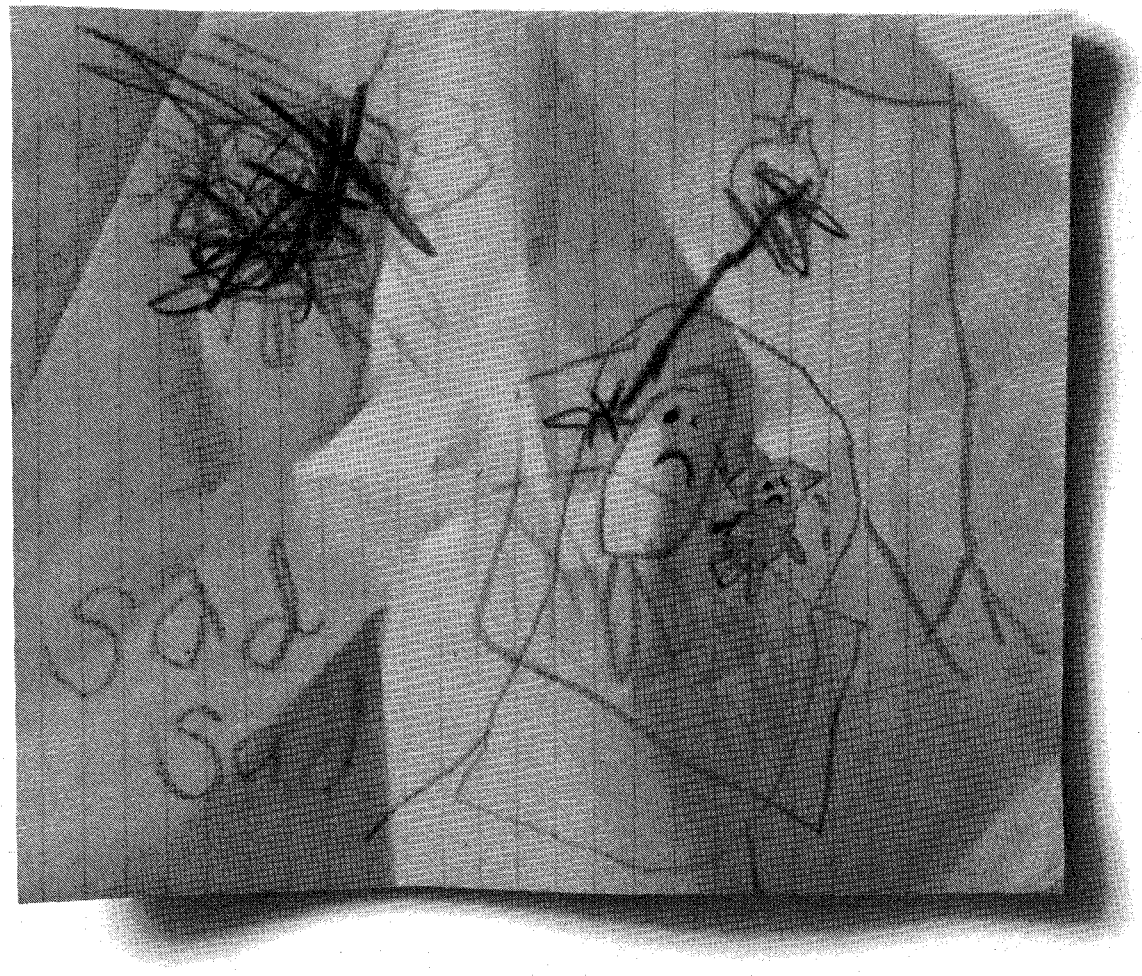

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FROM THE EDITOR

A Moral for George Bush

■ "I don't think the old words 'liberal' and 'conservative,' 'left' and 'right' have much descriptive meaning any more," said Derek Shearer, an advisor to Mr. Clinton, in a recent interview.

I at once concluded that Mr. Shearer was a "liberal," and probably a "left" one at that. Sure enough, a few paragraphs later he was advocating "activist" government and an "industrial policy," the current camouflage for statist economic planning.

No complex reasoning was needed to detect Mr. Shearer's ideological leanings. Anyone who can't quite fathom what "liberal" or "conservative" means either is half-witted—unlikely in Mr. Shearer's case—or is not being candid. He is hiding something—namely, views which the public distrusts. In this case, "liberal" or "left" views.

So watch out for candidates who are baffled by a word like "taxes." It means they want to raise them.

■ Mr. Bush, on the other hand, suffers from exactly the opposite flaw. He seems genuinely not to know what he thinks in any large general sense. But he has been told that he has to be "conservative" to win the election. So he makes "conservative" noises.

Sometimes quite effective noises. His Detroit speech, outlining the economic differences between his "conservatism" and Mr. Clinton's "liberalism," was well worked out, even eloquent. But it bore almost no relation to anything he did in his first term, and so planted the suspicion that it will have little influence on his second.

That suspicion is nourished when Mr. Bush embraces contrary policies. He halts his own regulations; he attacks the spendthrift Congress and announces new pork-barrel programs; he denounces protectionism and subsidizes wheat exports.

Inconsistency on this scale suggests insincerity. And insincere avowals of principle are doomed to sterility. A man who does not believe in, say, family values will be unconvincing in his advocacy of them. He will be bowled over by simple objections (since he will privately share them), and he will advance only the crudest justifications (since he cannot imagine more persuasive or sophisticated ones).

A rhetorical genius like George Bernard Shaw might amuse himself by giving the cleverest arguments to his capitalist villains like Undershaft in *Major Barbara*. But among lesser mortals, sincerity is vital to propaganda.

Cynical campaigns end up discrediting the themes they are designed to exploit, as indeed the Republican campaign has transformed "family values" into seedy hints of adultery against Governor Clinton. William Bennett defended them without sounding either puritanical or Pecksniffian.

Moral: Mr. Bush should not so much adopt conservative themes (using tongs and protective clothing against long-term contagion) as become a conservative. He still has seven weeks.

■ Whatever Mr. Bush says, however, will have to withstand scrutiny by media determined to enforce "fairness," at least on conservatives.

When Republicans, citing Daniel Wattenberg's fine article in *The American Spectator*, alleged that Hillary Clinton wanted to invest children with rights against their parents, news reporters "corrected" this charge. Mrs. Clinton, they said, wanted such rights only in extreme cases such as incest.

But here is what Mrs. Clinton actually wrote: "Decisions about motherhood and abortion, schooling, cosmetic surgery, treatment of venereal disease, or employment, and others where the decision or lack of one will significantly affect the child's future, should not be made unilaterally by parents. Children should have a right to be permitted to decide their own future if they are competent."

Reporters who cite this column in their apologies should begin any reference: "Experts say . . ."

—JOHN O'SULLIVAN

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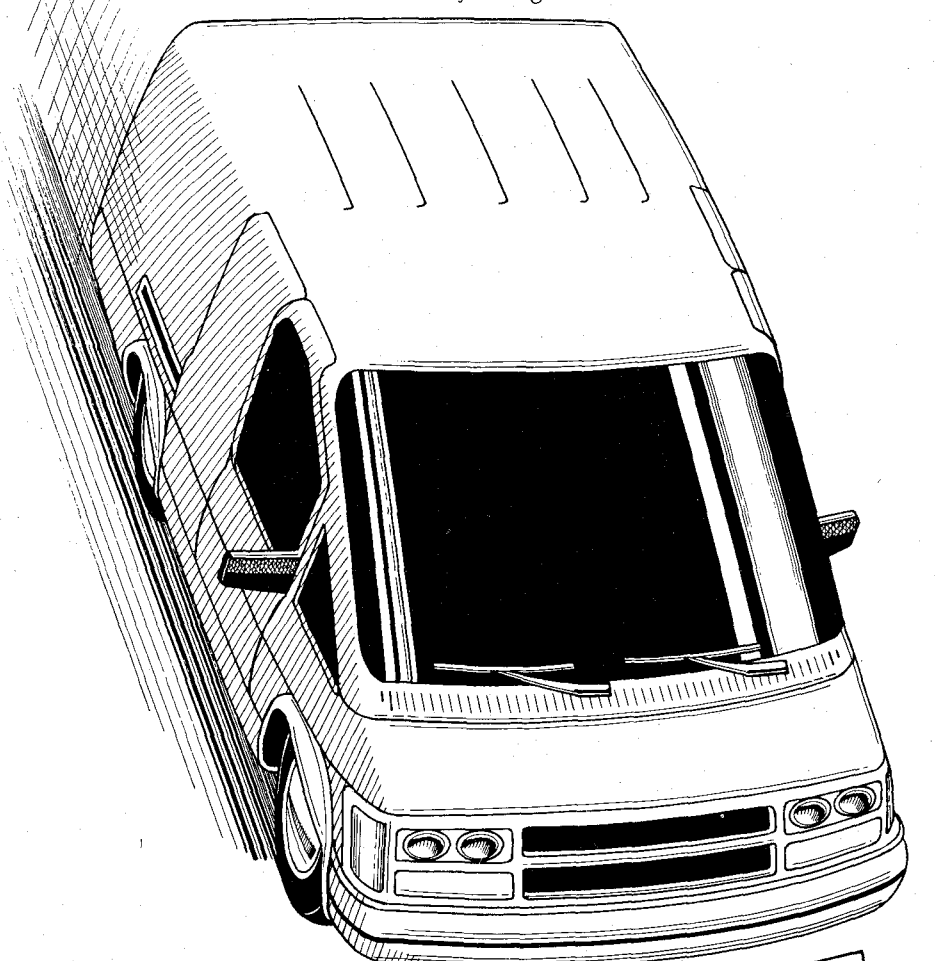

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FOR THE RECORD

■ What was going on with **Marlin Fitzwater**'s statement that **George Bush**'s "I'm not going to do it again—never, ever" was not a pledge not to raise taxes? Beltway sources say President was ad-libbing, and that Fitzwater and others in campaign were desperate to avoid "pledge trap." . . . Some interesting local departures from nationwide polls: In California, where **Ross Perot** is still on ballot, Political Media Research found **Bill Clinton** leading Bush by only 4 points—39 to 35—with 15 per cent opting for Perot. . . . Favorable media reaction to Bush's economic plan (even *New York Times* praised it) gave him a boost—but not in New York. *Daily News* tally showed Clinton with a statewide lead of 57 to 30, with 13 undecided. . . . If President carries Illinois, it will be no thanks to GOP Senate nominee **Rich Williamson**, who complains that Bush is a "drag" on his campaign against Woman of the Year candidate **Carol Moseley Braun** and talks openly about his need to "distance" himself from Bush. Great Lakes Republicans contrast Williamson's wimpdom with sterling efforts on President's behalf by Govs. **John Engler** of Mich., **Tommy Thompson** of Wisc., and **Jim Edgar** of Ill. . . . **Dan Quayle** got in his licks over Emmy Award: "**Murphy Brown**, you owe me a big one." Dialogue may continue: as **Susan Spencer** of CBS noted, "She still has to name the baby." . . . Looking ahead to '96, *Washingtonian* straw poll of state party chairmen shows **Jack Kemp** way ahead with 18 votes; other contenders far behind: **Phil Gramm** 8; **Dan Quayle** 6; **Bill Bennett** and **Dick Cheney** 3; **James Baker** 2; **Pat Buchanan**, **Carroll Campbell**, **Bob Dole**, **Pete du Pont**, **Warren Rudman**, and **William Weld** 1.

■ In New York, Republican Sen. **Al D'Amato** hoping for a Democratic recount: In primary for nomination to oppose him, **Robert Abrams** nosed out **Geraldine Ferraro** (whom D'Amato would rather run against), but absentee ballots have not yet been counted. Last weeks of campaign had featured radical **Al Sharpton** taking high road, reprimanding Abrams and **Liz Holtzman** for bringing up Ferraro's reputed mob ties. . . . Wrong choice: Long-time Rep. **Stephen Solarz**, done out of safe seat by redistricting, chose to run in district gerrymandered for Hispanics rather than challenging popular Rep. **Ted Weiss**. Weiss died one day before primary; Democratic bosses pleaded with his constituents to vote for him anyway, lest **Arthur R. Block**, member of a psychotherapy cult, win the nomination for almost-can't-lose election. They did, returning a dead man by 88 per cent (bosses will name a successor). Meanwhile, Solarz lost to one of the 5 Hispanics in race, **Nydia Velazquez**. . . . In the Bronx, **Mario Biaggi**—who left Congress for jail in 1989 when he was convicted for graft—failed in throw-the-rascal-back-in campaign. . . . In more normal parts of the country, incumbents have had hard times, with 17 representatives so far defeated in primaries, including conservative **Mickey Edwards** (R., Okla.). But **Jay Rhodes** (R., Ariz.), who had written 32 bad checks, held on to nomination for fourth term in seat his father had held for thirty years, and GOP Sens. **Frank Murkowski** (Alaska), **Robert Kasten** (Wisc.), and **John McCain** (Ariz.)—one of **Keating** Five—won renomination easily. . . . **Henry Hyde**—whom many Illinois Republicans wish had Senate nomination instead of Rich Williamson—announced he would run to succeed Edwards as chairman of Republican Policy Committee.

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"I'm impressed, but I'm damned if I know why."

■ Peru's capture of Shining Path head **Abimael Guzmán** a great coup, so to speak, for Pres. **Alberto Fujimori**. Shining Path had stepped up wanton terrorist attacks recently, including car bombings in Lima. . . . UN involvement in Yugoslavia has led to allegations concerning death of Secretary General **Dag Hammarskjold** in 1961 in the Belgian Congo. Hammarskjold's plane crash was always thought accidental, but two former UN officials, pointing to the shooting down of UN plane carrying four Italian peacekeepers in Bosnia, now claim Hammarskjold was murdered by mercenaries hired by mining interests. . . . 1942 Bandung conference of so-called Non-Aligned Nations, starring **Nehru** and **Tito**, was a great PR success, but Indonesia's 40th anniversary repeat fell flat, though it cost a lot more—$200 million. Cost included a $10-million tunnel betwen Hilton Hotel and conference hall.

■ Good Guys: **Rush Limbaugh** goes multi-media: his just-released *The Way Things Ought to Be* has already hit the *New York Times* best-seller list, and he has just launched a half-hour syndicated TV show, *Rush Limbaugh: The Television Show*. . . . Iran–Contra persecution of retired CIA official **Clair George** ended in hung jury. Independent Counsel **Lawrence Walsh** is said to have been dissuaded from a re-trial, but George still has heavy legal expenses. Contributions may be sent to Legal Defense Fund, P. O. Box 309, Merrifield, Va. 22116.

■ After **Ivan Lokovich** of Massachusetts became **Katherine Diane Swan**, thanks to surgery, she found a prominent Adam's apple ruined the effect. Judge **Julian Houston** ordered Medicaid to pay for Adam's-apple removal on grounds that failure to do so would lead to "deterioration" in Miss Swan's mental and social well-being.

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THE WEEK

■ In a better world, the two candidates would be *accusing* each other of resembling Harry Truman.

■ If the Bush Administration is really serious about emphasizing substance over sex in this Year of the Woman, they apparently haven't told Secretary of Labor Lynn Martin. Secretary Martin first proved a drag on the Administration with her reluctance to enforce the Supreme Court's *Beck* decision, which allows workers to get back that portion of their dues that union bosses spend on politics. Long after the President issued an order to put teeth into *Beck*, we're still waiting for Miss Martin's Labor Department to require workplace notices informing union members of their rights as well as new financial disclosure forms that would make the campaign money more difficult to hide. With regard to her latest achievement, we quote from a recent *New York Times* article on her testimony before the Senate Finance Committee: "Ms. Martin," says the article, "became the first Administration official to provide an estimate of American jobs that would be lost with the elimination of trade barriers among Canada, Mexico, and the United States." Yet Miss Martin remains at her post, without so much as a reprimand. And you thought chivalry was dead.

■ In an effort to embarrass the President, Congress has just approved a family-leave bill that would effectively tax Peter to pay Mary to have Paul. Frankly, we'd be happier with a family-leave bill that promised to leave families alone.

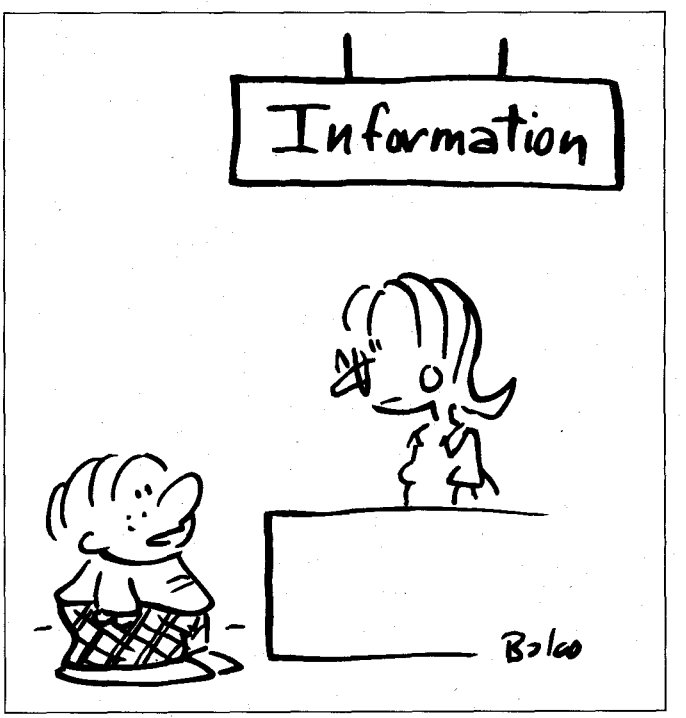
■ On a close procedural vote, the Senate blocked further consideration of the product-liability reform bill, thereby derailing President Bush's initiative to reduce frivolous lawsuits and cut the cost of litigation. Although the White House is blaming Democrats for refusing to take on the trial lawyers, three Republican senators—Alan Simpson (a past officer of the Wyoming Trial Lawyers Association), Bob Packwood, and Al D'Amato—defected. Any two of them would have provided the margin of victory—if only they had been of a mind to help George Bush, American industry, and American consumers.

■ When he wasn't exhaling at Oxford, Bill Clinton was helping to organize the antiwar movement overseas. So claims GOP activist Floyd Brown in his forthcoming book, *Slick Willie: Can America Trust Bill Clinton?* Brown's source for his charge is a 1977 book, *Peace Eyes*, by Richard McSorley, a liberal Jesuit priest active in the Vietnam Moratorium. McSorley wrote that before one protest/prayer service in London in November 1969, "Bill Clinton of Georgetown, then studying as a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford, came up and welcomed me. He was one of the organizers. . . . we paraded over to the American Embassy, carrying white crosses made of wood about 1 foot high. Then we left the crosses as an indication of our desire to end the agony of Vietnam." McSorley also writes that this and other protests "had the support of British peace organizations" such as the British Peace Council, an arm of the KGB-backed World Peace Council. Nothing really discreditable here, of course. But do we really want a useful idiot in the White House?

■ Little did Oxford suspect it was harboring our future Commander-in-Chief.

■ But at least there's no silly footage of Bill Clinton driving a tank.

■ One issue the next President will face is what to do about the notorious Delaney Clause—that part of a 1958 food-safety law that bans any substance that, at any dosage whatever, causes cancer in laboratory animals. Around half the chemical substances tested—naturally occurring as well as man-made—produce cancers in laboratory animals at high test dosages. And with modern detection methods able to find parts per billion, Elizabeth Whelan of the Amer-



"Was Columbus a good guy or what?"

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Nationwide Grassroots Petition

A Message To The TV Networks From Your Viewers

We're Fed Up With Negative, One-Sided, Deceptive TV News!

We're a group of Americans who are sick and tired of how you in Television News, especially network anchors, are using slanted, biased, distorted TV news in a blatant attempt to manipulate public opinion the way you want.

We're fed up with the way you are denying the American people one of our most precious and fundamental rights: honest, fair, unbiased news.

And We're Not Going To Remain Silent Any Longer.

We're **ANGRY** at your constant **NEGATIVE** reporting about the economy and your emphasis on **BAD** news and **GLOOMY** forecasts. We think this distorts the truth . . . lowers consumer confidence . . . prolongs the recession and **KEEPS PEOPLE OUT OF WORK.**

We're **DISGUSTED** at the way you repeatedly showed us a video tape of Los Angeles police officers beating Rodney King but **EDITED OUT** the first part where Rodney King attacks the police. We condemn this attempt to portray white police officers beating a black man without cause. We believe it helped incite the riots in Los Angeles.

We're **MAD** at how you try to influence elections by always finding something **CRITICAL** or **NEGATIVE** to say about the candidates you want to **LOSE** . . . and **FAVOR** the candidates you want to **WIN**. We call that **ELECTIONEERING** instead of honest, fair reporting.

We're **ANNOYED** at how you seem to think **ONLY YOU** know what's best for America and mix your **OPINIONS** into what's supposed to be straight news. Just give us the **FACTS. WE'LL** decide what's best for us.

We're **UPSET** that for years your **OVERSEAS** reporting has been so misleading even foreigners get angry with you. Remember when the people of El Salvador shouted at U. S. news reporters, **"TELL THE TRUTH! TELL THE TRUTH!"**?

We're **FURIOUS** at the way you constantly play up anything you can find that will get the public to support the socialist, big-spending programs **YOU** favor and **WE** have to pay for.

We're **MAD** at how you continually **CRITICIZE** companies, institutions and people. Can't you ever find anything **GOOD** to say?

And we're **MAD AS HELL** at the way you never stop finding fault with our country.

This is to advise you that We The People aren't going to remain quiet any longer. Alone we can't change you. But together we think we can.

We're asking every reader of this ad to help us run it all over America so you will **SEE** that there is a nationwide, grassroots uprising of outrage against negative, one-sided, deceptive TV news. If you see enough of these grassroots supported ads we think you will understand that the dishonest way you are using the news to manipulate public opinion is simply **NOT ACCEPTABLE** to the American people.

A Message To Readers Of This Ad

If you agree with what this ad says and you'd like to help in this nationwide protest, please join us. Help us run this ad in another magazine or newspaper.

At the end of every week we're going to send the heads of the TV networks and their famous news anchors, by certified mail, copies of each new ad that has run. They're going to KNOW We The People are outraged.

At the end of this effort we'll send them copies of ALL the ads along with a statement of the number of Americans who joined in this protest.

TV news, which is where 65 to 70 percent of the American people get the news, has been pushing our country in the wrong direction for too long. TV NEWS IS PART OF THE PROBLEM.

Right now mail the PROTEST on the right. Please enclose a tax-deductible contribution to help pay for another ad.

This is an all volunteer effort. We need your help. There are no salaries. Your tax deductible contribution will be used exclusively to pay for another ad. Make YOUR VOICE heard. Mail the protest to us TODAY.

Nationwide TV Protest, Dept. 7
1275 K Street, N.W., Suite 1150
Washington, D.C. 20005

GRASSROOTS PETITION TO THE TV NETWORKS

Yes! I am fed up with negative, one-sided news designed to manipulate public opinion. I want to be part of the Nationwide TV Protest and help you run this ad all over the country. You agree to notify the TV networks every week of the progress of this effort and you agree that not one penny will be used for anything except to pay for the ads. With this understanding I am enclosing my tax deductible contribution of $_____ to help pay for another ad and help bring back to TV one of our most precious rights: honest, fair, unbiased news.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ **State** _____ **Zip** _____

P.S. It's the total number of these protests which come in that is important. We will not give your name to the networks or their anchors or sell or rent your name to any other organization.

A project of Accuracy In Media, Inc., Reed Irvine, Chairman

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ican Council on Science and Health points out, "we are reaching the point where we can find almost anything in anything." This makes the Delaney clause a weapon to ban any substance that environmentalists can force down the throat of a laboratory mouse. The EPA has avoided doing so for three decades by arguing reasonably that risks of less than one in a million are legally "*de minimis*" and therefore permissible. But they can no longer use this common-sense loophole following this recent decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals: "The statute provides that once a finding of carcinogenicity is made, the EPA has no discretion." It must ban the offending chemical. Well, George, what's your policy on Delaney? And yours, Willie? Oh, and what does Al have to say about it?

■ More bad news for the Malthusians. According to a recent "global study," pollution causes sperm count to drop in healthy men. If Al Gore licks pollution, we'll all be breeding like rabbits.

■ Two sets of poverty statistics crossed our desk recently. The Census Bureau's annual report on poverty and income showed that 14.1 per cent of Americans had incomes below the poverty line in 1991, up 0.7 per cent from 1990. The World Bank, meanwhile, reported that only 8 or 9 per cent of the population of Mainland China is "absolutely poor." Per-capita income in the U.S. was $14,617 last year. In China it was $370. America's "poor" own assets that even the wealthiest fifth of Chinese can only dream about: 38 per cent own homes, with a median value of $39,200; 62 per cent own a car; and nearly half have air-conditioning, according to the Heritage Foundation. The Census Bureau counts any four-person family with cash income below $13,924 in 1991 as "poor." Yet the government's own data show that poor families spend $1.94 for every $1.00 of cash income actually reported. The official poverty count is rendered meaningless by the underground economy, accumulated assets, and—most blatantly—the failure of the Census Bureau to count the nearly $200 billion in Medicaid, food stamps, housing subsidies, and other in-kind payments distributed to the poor. A new poverty definition, based on consumption rather than income, is long overdue.

■ In this corner, Al Gore, apostle of charity, compassion, and saving the earth. His opponent, Dan Quayle—avatar of Republican greed and selfishness. Tax returns show that the two had similar incomes last year. Guess which one gave more to charity? Of course. The Quayles gave $5,670, or 3 per cent of their income, while the Gores gave $1,727—less than 1 per cent. Maybe Mr. Gore was trying to strengthen the case for federal poverty programs.

■ The President's decision to approve the sale of 15 F-16 jet fighters to Taiwan was good politics: they're built by General Dynamics in Fort Worth, Texas. But the issue was on the table for legitimate foreign-policy reasons. Ten years ago, the United States agreed with Mainland China that U.S. arms sales to Taiwan would be gradually reduced and ultimately phased out, but we also stressed our insistence on a peaceful resolution of the Taiwan issue. Peking has doubled—yes, doubled—its defense budget since Tiananmen. It is buying advanced weaponry from the Russians, including high-performance Su-27 fighters, now that *its* cold war with the USSR is over. China's policy of selling missiles and nuclear-power capabilities in the volatile Middle East (the latest is a nuclear deal with Iran) raises doubts as to whether China still perceives itself as having an across-the-board joint strategic interest with the West. Maintaining a stable balance in the Taiwan Strait is no threat to a China that is still interested in peaceful reunification. We should not be interested in deferring to any other sort of China.

■ One of the Bush Administration's real achievements was a bipartisan accord in Congress last year to fund deployment by 1996 of a system defending the United States against ballistic-missile attack. This was the so-called GPALS, or Global Protection Against Limited Strikes, system. This year, Senate liberals have launched an attack to de-fund the program. Together with the $1.1-billion reduction already made in the Administration's budget by the Senate Armed Services Committee, the amendment proposed by Senators Dale Bumpers and Jim Sasser would amount to the elimination of 37 per cent of the program's funds next year, according to the Center for Security Policy. The arguments made reflect classic liberal strategic myopia. Even the Russians now agree with the Administration's view that the threat from missile-armed Third World thugs is growing; we and the Russians are exploring the issue together. Ronald Reagan's vision of an America that applied its technological genius to the task of

Mr. Bush, Scare Me Silly

Make me grab the guard rail;
  Turn my knuckles white;
Indicate how cruel fate
  Would take my bachelor's mite;
Feed my fears with figures;
  Roil my dreams with facts;
Do it fair or foul, or there
  Will be no second acts.

W. H. VON DREELE

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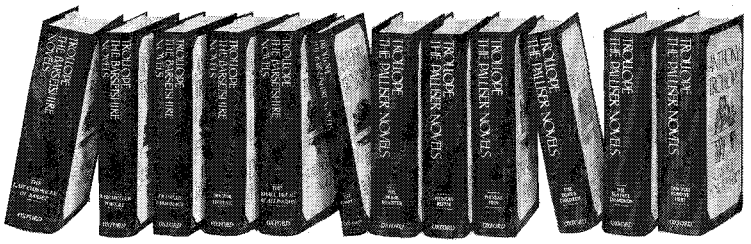

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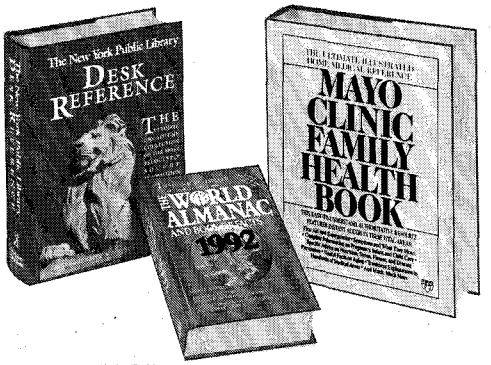

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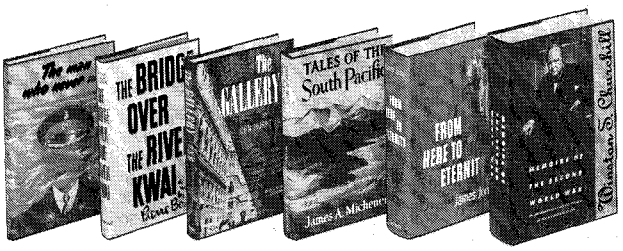

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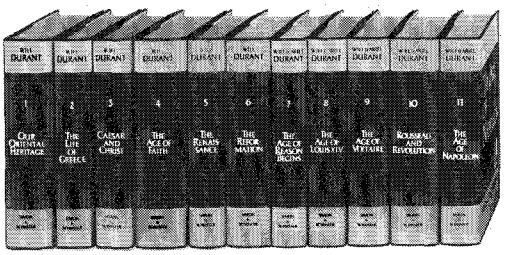

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F. Family and Fun (Cookbooks, Crafts, Art, Travel, Pets, Humor, Children's books)	1	2	3	4	5
G. Business, Finance	1	2	3	4	5
H. Sports	1	2	3	4	5

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shielding us and our friends against this menace is more compelling than ever.

■ A grand jury refused to indict Michael O'Keefe, the New York City police officer who shot and killed Jose García, a 23-year-old Dominican, last July. The shooting touched off days of rioting among Dominicans in the Washington Heights section of Manhattan, and Mayor David Dinkins took extraordinary steps—visiting García's family, paying for his funeral—to prevent the city from becoming Los Angeles East. The grand jury, however, found that García was a drug user who worked for a drug ring; it also believed O'Keefe's testimony that García had drawn a gun on him. Can the mayor get back the funeral money? Dinkins has defended the respect he paid the memory of a foot-soldier of the criminal class by arguing that it was his first duty, as mayor, to keep the peace. It is true that the modern American city harbors numbers of people who will take violent offense at legitimate acts of public authority, or at nothing at all. But surely one reason they do so is their belief that the authorities will respond to their violence, not with force, but with blandishments. David Dinkins did his bit to reinforce that belief.

■ New York City Schools Chancellor Joseph Fernandez has proposed special schools for students who are violent or criminal, though he would make attendance voluntary. Just think of it as a liberal version of school choice.

■ Three civilian women have filed a lawsuit against the Tailhook Association, seeking damages for abuse. Two of them allege mistreatment at last year's convention, and one complains that she was abused in 1990—and again during her return visit in 1991.

Why Bush Is Losing

ELSEWHERE in this issue, William Bennett, Rush Limbaugh, and Hadley Arkes tell George Bush what he must do to win. For the time being, however, he continues to lag behind Governor Clinton. The liberal explanation is that Mr. Bush got no Convention bounce because of the extremism of the family-values campaign. Would-be historians—Sidney Blumenthal, Garry Wills—argue that the President's push on family values followed a lifelong pattern of truckling to the Right.

The grit of truth at the center of this pearl of philosophy is that President Bush does have a history of making large gestures to hold conservatives in line. The reason they need holding, however, is that Mr. Bush in office consistently fails to understand their analyses or act on their concerns. He truckles to the Right every fourth year because he has been truckling to everyone else in the other three.

He began to lose the support of conservatives and the country when he broke his tax pledge in order to consummate the 1990 budget deal. (The pledge itself had been necessary because he lacked the anti-tax reputation of Ronald Reagan.) Besides damaging his integrity, the reversal lost him the loyalty of voters who understood that tax cuts had fueled the Reagan boom and were unwilling to have the budget balanced on their wallets. A year later, Mr. Bush signed a civil-rights bill which he had denounced, correctly, as a quota bill, thus losing voters concerned with racial fairness in the workplace.

Each step was intended to show flexibility and to win over moderate independent, and even Democratic, voters. Each step instead peeled off a part of the winning Reagan–Bush coalition. Having driven economic and social conservatives away, the President was left with moral conservatives, who stood by him because of his firmness on abortion. They set the tone at Houston because they were the only people left in the Big Tent.

If Mr. Bush is now beset by the dangers of a narrowly focused campaign, it is because he has been narrowing his own base of support for half his term. No kingdom is ever lost for want of a single nail.

The Clinton Plan

ARE YOU undertaxed? Can American business afford to pay an additional 7 per cent payroll tax for health insurance? Plus the cost of a new 1.5 per cent payroll tax for job training? Plus new environmental regulations? Will spending $50 billion more each year on infrastructure and education promote economic growth? Governor Clinton believes so, and he has an economic plan to prove it.

All economists regard investment as the key to long-term economic growth. But if infrastructure investment had the restorative powers claimed for it, the Bush years would have been a golden age. Over the past four years "government investment" has increased by 37 per cent. But real GDP registered a paltry 0.7 per cent average annual growth rate. That's because government investment diverts funds from more productive private investment, retarding the growth of productivity and income. If more money is needed for infrastructure, it should come not from the already overtaxed private sector but from other categories of federal spending.

Unfortunately, Clinton's plan reads much like the 1990 budget agreement, promising to reduce the def-

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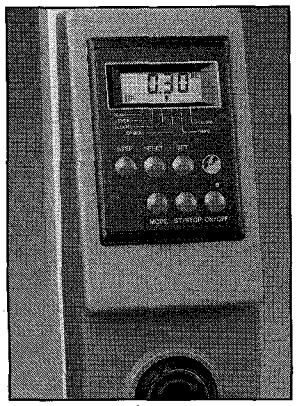

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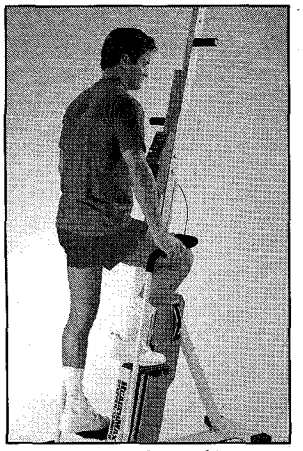

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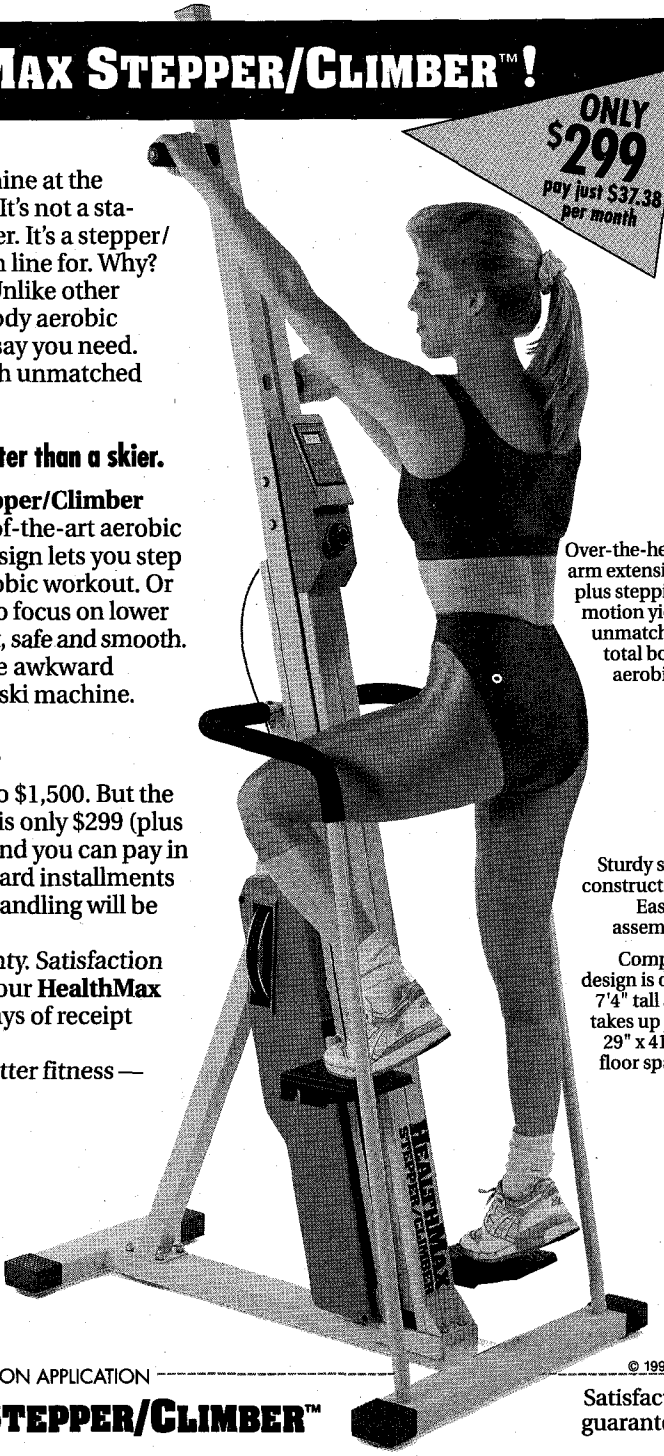

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*Any applicable sales tax will be billed with shipment. Please allow 4-8 weeks for shipment.

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icit (from $330 billion next year to $141 billion in 1996) by imposing higher taxes on "the rich," cutting defense even more than under present plans, and making other unspecified cuts. Tax breaks for the middle class are to be paid for by a "millionaire's surtax" and a new 38 per cent marginal tax bracket for individuals earning $200,000 and above. Neither of these will yield the promised amounts. There simply aren't enough individuals at those income levels, and opportunities to shelter income are too plentiful. Such hikes may even reduce tax revenues.

There are nuggets of sanity amidst the pandering. Clinton would cut capital-gains tax rates in half for certain start-up companies, and provide a tax credit for certain types of investment. The essence of Clintonomics, however, is old-fashioned Keynesianism. His plan assumes that public-works spending will prime the economy's pump, boosting GNP by 7 per cent above the Administration's baseline forecast by 1996. This would require the economy to grow faster throughout the next four years than it did during the strongest years of the Reagan expansion—while operating on the policies that produced Carter's stagflation. If voters ask themselves, "Will we be better off four years from now?" he's done for.

Dick Says: Fight, Jane, Fight

IN THE AFTERGLOW of the Gulf War victory, feminists were quick to exploit the media's exaggerated praise of women soldiers in order to attack the ban on women in direct combat roles. In last year's congressional hearings, Defense Department witnesses repeatedly stated that DoD had no opinion on whether women should fly combat missions—they awaited guidance from Congress. By refusing this chance to endorse the ban, Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney became a silent ally of the campaign to send women into combat that was launched by Representative Patricia Schroeder, backed by the feminist-occupied media, and endorsed by Governor Clinton's "New Covenant" Democrats.

Despite DoD's retreat before this Operation Petticoat, some members of Congress had second thoughts; they bought time and ducked political fallout by establishing a Presidential Commission to study the issue. The 15-member Commission, due to report its findings two weeks after the election, was largely hand-picked by Mr. Cheney. Yet it seems likely to recommend placing women in at least some direct combat positions. That is the politically correct view in Mr. Cheney's Defense Department, and, as David Horowitz relates in our cover story, service members who express contrary opinions do so at their professional peril.

The tragedy is that President Bush, who is thought to be privately skeptical of U.S. Amazons, will be hard pressed to reject the advice of his own blue-ribbon panel. And if he sends its recommendations to Congress (which he must do by December 15) with his backing, the liberals will have gained political cover for an extreme feminist experiment with almost no popular support that is likely to damage the effectiveness of the armed forces. Unless Dick Cheney executes a speedy retreat to common sense, he will have helped deliver women into combat for Pat Schroeder and Bill Clinton. That is not something conservatives will have forgotten by 1996.

Clinton and the Draft

He has a little shadow that
  Goes in and out with him;
It tags along across a street,
  And, as the sun grows dim,
His shadow dimly hangs around,
  Retreating only when
A thundercloud appears above,
  Then reappears again.

W. H. VON DREELE

The Restless Bear

RUSSIA HAS now agreed with the U.S. and Britain to permit extensive verification of the dismantling of the Soviet biological-weapons capability, which the Russians now admit was maintained contrary to a 1972 international ban. The 1990 accord limiting conventional armed forces in Europe also calls for intrusive on-site inspections, but the Western teams have so far been impeded in their access to large stretches of Russian territory.

There is a pattern of sorts here. The Russian military and Russian nationalists have resisted cooperation with the West under both Gorbachev and Yeltsin. (The impasse over Russia's failure to return the Japanese Northern Territories reflects the same reaction.) The West, of course, cannot permit reneging or cheating on arms-reduction commitments if our improved relationship—conspicuously including Western aid—is to continue. The Bush Administration has been firm on this—wherein lies its best hope of heading off congressional attempts to impose rigid conditions by law.

Whatever our sympathy for or trust in Yeltsin, we do him no favor if we look the other way at this misbehavior. On the contrary, we only undermine him if we show his military that such chiseling is cost-

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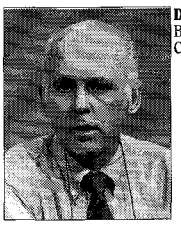

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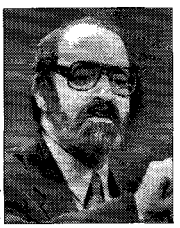

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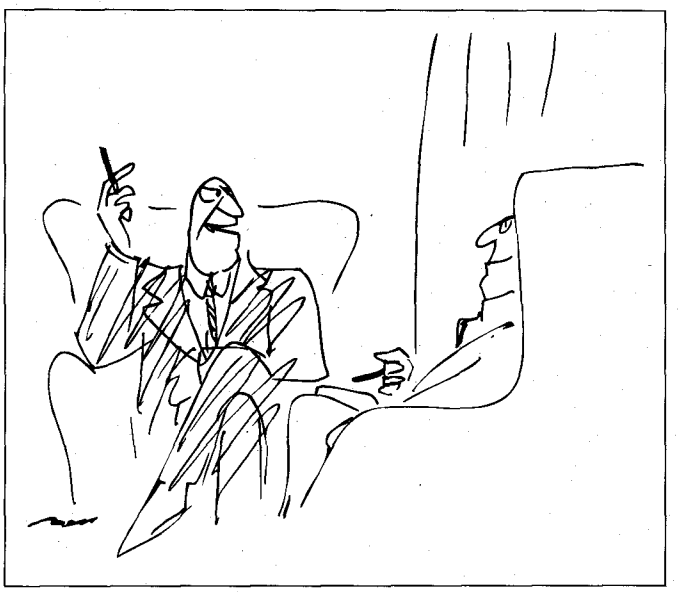

"Are you kidding? Of course *I believe in the nobility of the cause!"*

free. We strengthen his hand by insisting on our own interests.

Unfriendly Skies

THE United Nations Security Council has now formally established two zones in Iraq in which coalition aircraft will fly surveillance missions, and any appearance of Iraqi planes or helicopters in these zones will be treated as a violation of the 1991 ceasefire. Above the 36th parallel, the "no-fly zone" will protect Iraqi Kurds from Saddam's depredations; below the 32nd parallel, the Shiites. This is the ironic outcome of a U.S. policy that, at the end of Desert Storm, was determined to avoid anything that smacked of the fragmentation of Iraq. The Administration has learned the hard way that Saddam's survival in power has undermined its strategic calculations and U.S. interests.

The Administration refrained from any aid to the Kurdish and Shia rebellions against Saddam's rule shortly after the war ended, fearing that they represented dangerously destabilizing tendencies. Having missed its chance when the rebellions might well have brought Saddam down, the Administration has now been pressed by events into a policy that may involve the same separatist implications but without the same likelihood of dispatching Saddam.

In a broader context, however, the new measures are important. The Security Council is stepping up its demands for intrusive inspection of Saddam's nuclear, chemical, biological, and missile capabilities. Leaks of impending military action made the demands credible. The UN inspectors now believe Saddam's nuclear capability, at least, is no more. We hope they are right, but the only way to be sure is to intensify the inspections. At some point, we are bound to make an inspection demand with which Saddam does not want to comply—and this carries the risk of a clash, just as the infringement of sovereignty with the "no-fly zones" does.

In other words, these recent measures bring us a step or two closer to some kind of final confrontation. If so, this is undoubtedly to the good. We know there will always be those who cry "domestic politics" at any exercise of U.S. power. But it is Saddam, rather than President Bush, who will have invited that confrontation. Should action prove necessary, the President should be supported.

Clear and Present

CANADA's cyclical national-unity crisis has once more entered its Red Alert phase. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's (very) Progressive Conservative government has induced the country's ten provinces to agree to yet another constitutional package aimed at placating the French-speaking province of Quebec—and, while they're about it, at a rag-bag of other things.

Essentially, the package is an asymmetrical deal that further entrenches the Canadian establishment's efforts to bribe Quebec with special privileges to stay in Canada. Thus Quebec is guaranteed a quarter of the seats in the House of Commons despite its shrinking share of Canada's population. Earlier bribes like federal bilingualism cannot be altered in future without Quebec's approval. There is to be an elected Senate—a belated concession to the long-suffering Western provinces—but it is shorn of most blocking powers. And, under the heading of "Social and Economic Union," the package entrenches a host of redistribution programs, "defining Canada as a social democratic welfare state," in the words of David Somerville, head of Toronto's National Citizens' Coalition.

A referendum on this absurd farrago will be held on October 26. All political parties are urging a "Yes/Oui" vote except the new populist Western-based Reform Party and the separatist Bloc Québecois. An upset is not impossible. However, unanimous establishment support of this kind can browbeat the voters in the short term. In which case, after an interval of euphoric complacency, the next crisis of national unity will start building.

French and English Canada are plainly separate nations. Containing them in the same polity is like training a dog to ride a pony. It can be done, but what's the point? The lesson for the U.S.: the ineluctable nature of ethnic differences when reinforced by linguistic ones—and the invincible ignorance of liberal elites in dealing with them.

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School's Out

ON WHICH POINT, President Bush recently signed us up for another 15 years of bilingual ballots. Luckily, an opportunity to slow the tribalization of our country will present itself early next year, when Congress considers reauthorizing the Bilingual Education Act.

Texas Senator Ralph Yarborough, the original sponsor of the act, complained in 1967 that his younger Mexican-immigrant constituents were "required to struggle along as best they can in English, a language understood dimly by most and not at all by many"—the Spanish-speaking child is "led to believe there is something wrong with him." One result, said Senator Yarborough, was a troubling school drop-out rate. This is a curious complaint, given the tens of thousands of immigrants from around the globe who could testify that they, too, had arrived in American schools without knowing English and had graduated to become successful, well-adjusted U.S. citizens. It is truly astonishing, though, that educationists continue to use Senator

RIGHT DATA

Family Values and Growth

THE Republican Party's preoccupation with moral issues has been portrayed as a politically inspired diversion from Topic A: the economy. A return to traditional family values could, however, help the economy more than the most potent growth package.

In 1991, for example, families headed by a woman with no husband present experienced a 5.4 per cent decline in real median income, to $16,692. This was much worse than the 1.4 per cent drop—to $40,995—in income of families headed by a married couple.

Although the poverty rate rose in 1991 to 14.1 per cent—the highest level since 1983—the rate for married-couple families remained unchanged, at 6 per cent. By contrast, the percentage of female-headed families living in poverty increased significantly, from 33.4 in 1990 to 35.6 in 1991.

Health, especially that of children, is also highly correlated with family structure. The mortality rate of babies born to unmarried white women in 1989 stood at 13.1 deaths per 1,000 single births, compared to 7.8 deaths per 1,000 single births to married white mothers. Among blacks, the comparable infant-mortality rates were 19.6 and 14.6 per 1,000 single births, respectively. Regardless of the race, age, or income of its mother, a child is more likely to die in infancy if born out of wedlock. Even a mother's education matters less than her marital status: infant-mortality rates are higher for children of unmarried mothers who are college graduates than of married high-school dropouts.

A sharp rise in out-of-wedlock births has occurred in most industrialized nations, with Japan the notable exception (see table). Male joblessness has been blamed for this trend in the U.S., although this fails to explain why both illegitimacy and divorce rates continued rising during the prosperous Sixties and Eighties. The rise in the percentage of wives who work outside the home and the rise in wage rates paid to women relative to men has also been implicated in the rise in female-headed families.

Percentage of Births to Unmarried Women in Selected Countries

	1960	1970	1980	1989
U.S.	5.3	10.7	18.4	27.1
Canada	4.3	9.6	12.8	23.0
France	6.1	6.8	11.4	28.2
W. Germany	6.3	5.5	7.6	10.2
Japan	1.2	0.9	0.8	1.0
Sweden	11.3	18.4	39.7	51.8
U.K.	5.2	8.0	11.5	26.6

In the U.S., however, the decline of the traditional family increasingly reflects a deliberate choice to accept single parenthood. During the early Sixties (1960–64), 52.2 per cent of unmarried women 15 to 34 years old who were pregnant with their first child married before the child was born. By 1985–89, the percentage had fallen by nearly half, to 26.6.

The ready availability of AFDC, Medicaid, and other welfare programs targeted to fatherless families undoubtedly explains much of this trend. But welfare cannot explain the sharp rise in illegitimacy among never-married white women over 24 years of age. At least some of them are choosing an untraditional remedy for the ticking away of their "biological clock."

More than half (55 per cent) of these Murphy Browns reported in 1988 that they deliberately set out to conceive a child at the time of their pregnancy—up from just 16 per cent in 1982. By contrast, only 44 per cent of the unmarried black mothers age 25 and over had intended to get pregnant.

—Ed Rubenstein

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Yarborough's argument, since, after 25 years of bilingual education, the high-school dropout rate among Hispanics has reached almost 50 per cent.

We remain skeptical of the entire notion of bilingual education. As the Mexican-American writer Richard Rodriguez has written, it is an education that often leaves the child illiterate in two languages. At the very least, whoever is President in 1993 should refuse to sign the reauthorized Bilingual Education Act unless Congress inserts in it programs to help children move into the English-speaking mainstream. Bilingual education in any form should be limited to two years. And the test of success, required for continued funding, should be a high percentage of children attaining real proficiency in English. Learning a foreign language is a difficult task; immigrant children should not be lulled into thinking otherwise; nor should we.

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Regarding the environmentalists' concern over CO_2, here are some facts nobody argues with:

1. Atmospheric pressure is about 15 psi (pounds/in./in.).

2. Earth's radius is about 4,000 mi.

3. CO_2 constituted about 0.04 per cent of the atmosphere in 1950.

Here is another fact that I have seen. It is politically correct and therefore no one questions it; it's probably scientifically correct as well:

4. CO_2 now constitutes more like 0.06 per cent of the atmosphere.

From #2 we calculate that Earth's surface area is 0.8 billion billion sq. in. And from #1 that the atmosphere weighs 11.9 billion billion lbs. This is 6 million billion tons. Now take fact #3; 0.04 per cent is 2,400 billion tons of CO_2. Half (the change since 1950) is 1,200 billion tons. Let's call this fact #5:

5. There were 2,400 billion tons of CO_2 in the atmosphere in 1950; 3,600 billion tons now, give or take a sigh or two.

Here are two more facts. I haven't seen them challenged anywhere. They're a little looser, but probably in the ballpark, considering the respectable places where I read them.*

6. Human activity currently releases 6 billion tons of CO_2 year.

7. Non-human activity (oceans, trees, Pinatubo, Mauna Loa, etc.) releases 200 billion tons of CO_2 per year.

If #6 and/or #7 is seriously wrong, then please accept my apology for the nonsense that follows. But if they are anywhere near right, then please read on.

Now compare fact #5 with fact #6. Simple division tells you that if every molecule of human-released CO_2 at the current rate of production stayed in the atmosphere, it would take another 200 years for the post-1950 change to be matched. Or looking backward, since minus 200 years takes us back to before the Industrial Revolution, it means that if every CO_2 molecule from every factory, car, steam engine, barbecue, campfire, and weenie roast that ever was since the first liberal climbed down out of a tree right up until today was still in the atmosphere, it still wouldn't account for the change in CO_2 since 1950.

Fact #7 has been going on for a long time, a lot longer than any piddling 200 years. Comparing #5 and #7 means it takes about 12 years for the average CO_2 molecule to be recycled back out of the atmosphere.

Given the above, here are some conclusions that nobody can argue with and still claim to be a reasoning creature:

8. Human activity, carried out at the present rate indefinitely (more than 12 years) cannot possibly account for more than 6 per cent of the observed change in CO_2 levels.

9. Entirely shutting off civilization—or even killing everybody—could only have a tiny effect on global warming, if there is any such thing.

Dan Rather may find the above argument very abstruse. To anyone trained in science, however, it is so absolutely trivial, so mind-bogglingly simple, that you may be 100 per cent certain that every last person calling himself an "atmospheric scientist" or suchlike not only would understand it immediately *but has actually carried it out for himself already*. Thus the final fact:

10. Every geoscientist knows and believes #9.

The strangest part of all is that the very people who should be yelling: "Oompah! Oompah!"† are among the ones perpetrating the scam and beating up on George Bush for not going along with it.

That leaves two questions that neither one of us knows how to answer:

Q1. Why do all these supposedly educated, supposedly sane people want to end civilization?

Q2. Since humanity can't possibly be causing the CO_2 level to go up, isn't it time to start wondering about what *is*?

Thank you for your attention.

L. L. Van Zandt
Professor of Physics
Purdue University
West Lafayette, Ind.

Dear Mr. Van Zandt: That is truly beautiful, your demonstration. Thank you for sending it along. Cordially, **—WFB**

* S. H. Schneider, *Scientific American* 261 #3, Sept. 1989, p. 73.

† From an old joke. The punch line is: "Careful! Don't step in the oompah."

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ON THE SCENE

Baker: Enough and in Time?

WILLIAM McGURN

WASHINGTON, D.C.

EVER WONDER how the *New York Times* would cover the Second Coming? Assuming the story wasn't buried in the foreign section, it would probably look a lot like the page-one Maureen Dowd and Thomas L. Friedman story about the return of James A. Baker III to the White House. That's assuming, too, that the Messiah had the prescience to court his friends in the press as faithfully as Jim Baker has done.

Within the campaign, the *Times* piece was immediately recognized as a classic plant. The Friedman byline was the first tipoff, in that his beat is the State Department, not the campaign. Then there was the substance of the piece: there wasn't any. There was nothing about what ideas the former Secretary of State would bring to the campaign, what initiatives would be launched, or how things might have been different if Baker & Co. had been in charge from the beginning. Instead, it was all written as though Jim Baker and his aides were looking in the mirror: "The mood of the Baker team is a mix of anger at having to move in at this late stage, terror at the prospect of being labeled failures, and thrill at the thought of beating the odds."

Note the nice twist. While the rest of the Bush Administration is variously described as "clumsy," "slapdash," and "second-rate," the Baker folks are "whiz-kids," "well-organized," and "the clean-up crew." Against a description of President Bush's "Zelig-like tendency to be as clever as his nearest advisor," Baker is presented as a "wily court magician." For those who don't speak Beltway, allow me to translate:

Fred Carlson

If George Bush loses, it's not Baker's fault. If he wins, Baker must be a genius.

There's no question that Mr. Baker has a genius for making himself look good. There's also no question that he brings some order to a Bush campaign floundering in disarray. The question is whether he has brought any substantive ballast to a Presidency that inexplicably still needs to define itself after four years in office.

"At the end of the day Baker is a very cynical man," says one senior Administration official. "He brings none of Kemp's belief in economic growth, Quayle's belief in shoring up the family, or Bennett's willingness to define values by taking on the Administration's enemies.

"He does recognize the necessity for the *appearance* of having some issues. But this is a man who believes that the way George Bush wins is by destroying Bill Clinton."

Still and all, even Baker's fiercest critics concede his executive abilities; those who work with him say he is not afraid of having talented people around, that he is a "master" at focusing a meeting, and that he knows how to bring a meeting to a decision without offending those on the losing side. It is a testament to Baker's strengths that, instead of the resentment that normally might be directed at the outsider coming in with a reform mission, people on the campaign are actually grateful for the direction that Baker has brought. Decisions are being made. Interests are being narrowed down. The "9 to 5" mentality that Evans & Novak scored in a recent column is gone: the seven-day work week is now mandatory.

On substance, the most hopeful sign was Baker's farewell remarks at the State Department, where he spoke about a "conservative agenda" that would "build on the fundamentals of lower tax rates, limits on government spending, greater competition, less economic regulation, and more open trade that can unleash tremendous private initiative and growth." He also pointed out the different consequences that flow from the "contrasting philosophies" of the two parties.

The first missed opportunity came on capital gains, but Baker was on the side of the angels. The question was indexing capital gains to inflation unilaterally, which would have had some of the same effect as a tax cut but would not require congressional approval. Ultimately the indexation never materialized because Attorney General William Barr ruled that it would be unconstitutional (a decision supported by a number of conservatives from Robert Bork to Ed Meese). But Baker had been all for it—and he let the word out.

"Baker understands that words count, that symbols mean something," says the campaign's Jim Pinkerton. "This will help us boil it down to not just 'Can you trust Bill Clinton?' but 'Can you afford Bill Clinton?'"

The first real test of the Baker team's ability to inject this kind of clear choice into the campaign came in the President's speech to the Detriot Economic Club. There was no room for excuses here. The whole thing was Baker from top to bottom: choice of venue, timing, everything.

In the end, the speech was vintage Baker, too, with all the plusses and minuses he brings. On the plus side, there was some good supply-side language. And what pleased the White

Mr. McGurn is NR*'s Washington Bureau Chief.*

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House most was that it finally gave Bush something to hold in his hand and call an economic program. Indeed, the Baker team put the program in an attractive little booklet called *Agenda for American Renewal*, which the President hawked on national TV, complete with 800 number, looking for all the world like a celebrity plumping for term life insurance.

Unfortunately, the slick packaging emphasizes rather than obscures the weakness of the program. Instead of boldly distinguishing Bush from Clinton in kind as well as degree—how about raising the tax exemption for children to make up for inflation and putting some flesh on the bones of family values?—the good words of the Detroit speech were covered with all sorts of accounting barnacles inserted by OMB Director Dick Darman and by Deputy Chief of Staff Bob Zoellick.

Meanwhile, the Baker team's real task is to put a stop to those inconsistencies that make the President come across as insincere. For example, in the thick of a campaign based on the evils of a Democratic Congress, conservative Republican Representatives Richard Baker and Clyde Holloway were snubbed when they offered to tour Louisiana disaster sites with the President—although Democrats Billy Tauzin and Jimmy Hayes were allowed along. A week later in Fort Worth, when Bush announced the sale of fighter jets to Taiwan, Democrat Pete Geren was up on the platform with him instead of Geren's conservative Republican challenger, David Hobbs. Can anyone imagine Harry Truman inviting Republicans along during his re-election campaign?

What it boils down to is this: Baker's brand of competence can't be the solution because lack of it was never the real problem. "The good news about Jim Baker is that the campaign is going to be competent, it's going to be focused, it's going to be technically correct," says an Administration official. "The bad news is that this was the way Baker ran the Ford campaign. The Ford campaign was all these things, and they did come back from way down."

And they still lost. □

ANC Crack-Up

FRED BRIDGLAND

JOHANNESBURG

THE TRAGEDY of the Battle of Bisho, which at first glance looks an obvious propaganda triumph for the African National Congress, may be the catalyst that makes the movement's quiescent internal crisis begin to go active.

The ANC has always been a broad church, with divisions along many planes—between Communists and non-Communists; between those who went into exile and those who stayed to fight at home; between those who went to Robben Island and those who were never imprisoned; between "old guard" leaders and a younger, generally better educated generation that believes it is best qualified to lead the ANC to power.

Another division has lately become obvious: one between "insurrectionists" and "negotiationists." The "insurrectionists" have all along believed that constitutional negotiations with South African State President F. W. de Klerk are a trap, that the ANC never wins absolute political power through the ballot box. The leader of the "insurrectionists" is Mr. Chris Hani, an urbane classics scholar who is secretary-general of the South African Communist Party (SACP). He came top of the poll in last year's elections to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the ANC, and stood down only recently as chief-of-staff of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation).

Katherine Trunk

On the other side are the "negotiationists," led by the ANC's director of international affairs, Mr. Thabo Mbeki, and the movement's deputy secretary-general, Mr. Jacob Zuma. They argued inside the NEC that it was possible to cut a fair deal with de Klerk and to start taking essential steps to get South Africans, particularly those who are black, back on their feet economically.

The "negotiationists" held the line until June of this year, when supporters of the Zulu-oriented Inkatha Freedom Party ran amok in the township of Boipatong and killed more than forty ANC sympathizers. As a result, the ANC leadership came under such pressure from the hard-line insurrectionists that it felt obliged to withdraw from constitutional negotiations at Codesa (the Convention for a Democratic South Africa) unless de Klerk acceded to a list of 14 demands, including one that he put an end to the country's political violence.

Despite deep misgivings within ANC ranks, the insurrectionists won the argument in favor of launching a campaign of mass action, strikes, boycotts, and occupations of government buildings, leading ANC President Nelson Mandela to joke with one white audience that compared with the problems of collective political leadership he had been freer on Robben Island.

Among those who rejoiced with especial glee at the insurrectionist triumph was Ronnie Kasrils, a leading member of the Stalinist tendency of the SACP. Kasrils is one of a number of white revolutionaries and romantics for whom South Africa represents the last place on earth where Marxism–Leninism may still triumph; as an intelligence interrogator in the exiled ANC's camps in Zambia, he has a reputation as grim as any of his counterparts in the South African Police.

Kasrils, 54, became a member of the Anti-Apartheid Movement's executive in the Sixties and subsequently, as a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, received military, engineering, and in-

Mr. Bridgland, a veteran foreign reporter, is currently the Johannesburg correspondent of the Daily Telegraph *and the* Sunday Telegraph.

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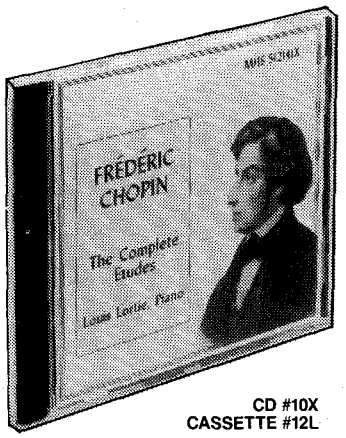

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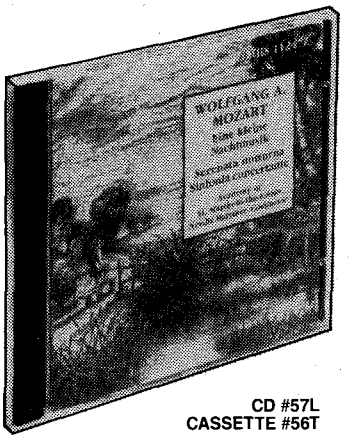

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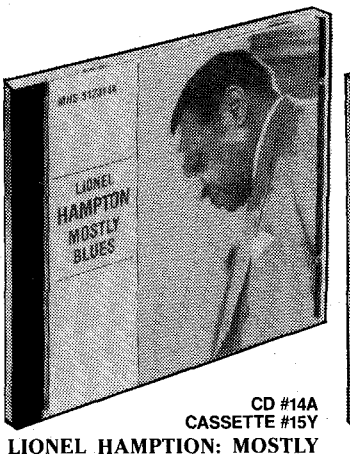

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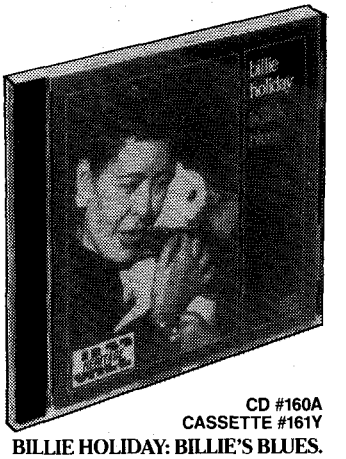

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telligence training in East Germany, the Soviet Union, and Angola. He became an ANC political commissar before specializing in car bombs and other explosives. He was the handler of a number of ANC guerrilla groups operating in South Africa, including one known as the Broederstroom Four, whose members were arrested in May 1988 after they had established arms caches, including SAM-7 anti-aircraft missiles, in several parts of the country.

Kasrils was appointed organizer of the ANC's mass-action campaign in the wake of Boipatong. He immediately proclaimed that no ruling class in history had given way peacefully and said South Africa's would be no exception. With Kasrils in charge Bisho was a tragedy waiting to happen. It was Kasrils who—in breach of the agreement between the ANC leadership and a local magistrate—led the charge of unemployed, impoverished, uneducated, and politically volatile black youths toward the guns of the Ciskei troops, triggering the brutal response which left many of his young revolutionaries dead in the carnage.

The Bisho Battle has completely stymied behind-the-scenes maneuvers by Mbeki and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa to get negotiations back on track. It is a bitter blow for Mbeki, an outstanding diplomat, long tipped as the successor to Mandela. Mbeki has determinedly distanced himself from the Marxism–Leninism in which he was embroiled from birth and which he exploited on his way up the ANC ladder. To advance through the exiled ANC structures, membership in the SACP was almost as essential as, say, membership in the Communist Party was for a successful Czechoslovakian civil servant in the 1950s and '60s. Only a few intellectually and morally courageous individuals were able to maintain posts and influence in the exiled ANC without signing up with the SACP—notably former ANC President Oliver Tambo and Pallo Jordan, now the ANC's director of information in Johannesburg.

In the mid Eighties Mbeki became disenchanted with the SACP. When, according to a close colleague, his Communist Party comrades pleaded with him to put his heart into dialectical matters, he said: OK, persuade me that Marxism–Leninism illuminates the way forward. When he realized that most of the hard-line ideologues, including Kasrils, had not—as he had done—read the classic texts of Marx and Lenin, he finally left spiritually. He never bothered to resign from the SACP. He simply drifted away.

Once the ANC returned home from exile in 1990, Mbeki took a leading role in negotiations with the government and has been prominent in trying to persuade his movement to abandon international economic sanctions as a weapon of leverage for political reform. Mbeki understands the need to get the moribund South African economy moving *now*. Otherwise, the ANC will face an impossible task in satisfying aspirations in black townships—in many of which unemployment exceeds 70 per cent—when it comes to power some time this decade.

For Kasrils and Hani revolutionary glory lies ahead at the barricades. For Mbeki, and probably also Mandela, disaster beckons for all South Africans down that road. At the moment, the insurrectionists have the upper hand over the negotiationists. How the ANC resolves its own serious internal contradiction in coming weeks and months will largely seal the fate of the future South Africa. □

Man on a Mission

DAN GRISWOLD

COLORADO SPRINGS

A YEAR AGO, Colorado conservative Terry Considine was not exactly riding high in the saddle. He was out for a Sunday horseback ride last September with his two young daughters when his Quarter Horse mare reared and fell over on top of him, crushing several vertebrae. But in January, leaning on a pair of crutches, the 45-year-old businessman and former state senator announced that he would be a Republican candidate to represent Colorado in the U.S. Senate.

Everyone expected the race would pit the conservative reformer Considine against first-term Senator Democrat Tim Wirth. But then Wirth—a global-warming crusader who was first elected to Congress in the wake of Watergate—stunned Colorado's political establishment by announcing he would retire after six terms in the House and one in the Senate. Congress just wasn't fun any more, Wirth said, citing gridlock and partisan rancor.

While Considine, well on the road to physical recovery, sailed through his party's nomination process, Colorado Democrats scrambled to find someone to defend Wirth's seat. Two of their heavy hitters, former Governor Richard Lamm and three-term Congressman Ben Nighthorse Campbell, went head-to-head in the August 11 primary, with Campbell winning decisively.

Colorado's political leanings are as varied as its terrain, with its dry eastern plains rising up to meet the Front Range wall of the Rocky Mountains. Colorado consistently votes Republican in presidential elections, but splits almost down the middle on congressional and state races. The state has been represented simultaneously by Gary Hart, man-about-town and McGovern campaign manager, and by William Armstrong, born-again Christian and rock-solid conservative. Both chambers of the state legislature are solidly Republican, but Democrats have won the last five elections for governor.

Like many Western states, Colorado is conservative on fiscal matters and on such issues as gun control and the death penalty. But on social issues it tends to be more liberal. It was one of the first states to liberalize its abortion law, and if *Roe* v. *Wade* ever fails, it will be one of the last to restrict abortion. This is, after all, the state that gave the nation Pat Schroeder, and that gave Jerry Brown a plurality in this year's presidential primary.

Colorado's Senate race could be one of most competitive and pivotal in the country. If Terry Considine wins, he will be far more than just another vote in the Republican caucus. He is a man on a mission: to reform the political process and to restore the incentives that drive our market economy.

Considine found personal success

Mr. Griswold is editorial-page editor of the Colorado Springs Gazette Telegraph.

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and wealth in the property-management business during the Seventies and Eighties. The son-in-law of Bo Callaway, a former chairman of the Colorado GOP, Considine moved to the state a decade ago and soon became a player in state politics. He managed Senator Armstrong's successful re-election bid in 1984 and himself ran (unsuccessfully) for the GOP Senate nomination in 1986.

In 1987, Considine was appointed to fill a vacancy in the State Senate, where he pushed for educational choice and the partial privatization of Denver's Rapid Transit District. He stepped down from his legislative post in January to focus full-time on the race for U.S. Senate.

Bill Armstrong, a national figure among conservatives, is serving as Considine's campaign chairman. Of his candidate, Armstrong says, "Terry has tremendous intellectual horsepower. He's got the kind of human qualities that are really rare, the ability to empathize with people and understand their problems. He has the kind of stamina and vitality it takes to be a good United States Senator. He'll be a real leader there."

It was Considine who organized the "Coloradans Back in Charge" petition drive two years ago that made Colorado the first state in the union to impose term limits (an effort that won him the enmity of political insiders in both parties). In that referendum, 71 per cent of state voters approved limits not only on Colorado's governor and legislators but also on its congressional delegation. Sparked by the brushfire Considine lit in Colorado, term-limit initiatives will be on the ballot this fall in as many as 15 states. One activist has called Considine "the father of term limits." Considine also wants a 50 per cent reduction in congressional staff and committees and no exemptions for Congress from any laws it passes.

Considine is an articulate, unabashed free-marketeer whose economic platform sounds much like Ronald Reagan's in 1980: deregulation, spending cuts, and lower taxes, including the indexation of capital gains and a higher personal exemption for families. The aim of his tax-reform proposals is "to unleash the profit motive and the human instinct for innovation to produce more jobs, greater savings and investment, and new technology."

Ben Nighthorse Campbell's No. 1 asset as a Senate candidate is his biography. Part North Cheyenne Indian, the 59-year-old Campbell is the only Native American in Congress (and only the eighth ever). He wears a ponytail and a bolo tie and has made his living as a jewelry maker and horse trainer. He spent part of his boyhood in an orphanage and won a gold medal in judo at the 1964 Olympics. As a state legislator in 1986, he upset a Republican incumbent for Congress, and has won by huge margins ever since.

On issues, the contrast will not be as stark as a Considine–Wirth race, but deep differences still exist.

Two of Considine's strongest themes will be federal spending and congressional reform. Campbell is a big

Robert Prince

spender, the biggest in the Colorado delegation, according to the National Taxpayers Union. However, he's an answer-the-mail and bring-home-the-bacon sort of guy who, unlike Wirth, has no driving ideological agenda.

As a three-term incumbent, Campbell can be painted with the insider brush. He didn't write any bad checks on the House Bank, but he did vote for a pay raise in 1987 and he has wavered on term limits. "The congressional mess is really easier for Considine to pin on Ben Campbell than it would be on [Dick] Lamm or [Josie] Heath," observed John Andrews, who heads the conservative Independence Institute in Golden, Colorado. "Ben has been a lackluster legislator. He has gone along for the ride during his years in the House."

Abortion is another issue that divides the two candidates. Campbell is an absolutist on abortion rights, opposing even the modest restrictions in the Pennsylvania law. Considine, in contrast, has stuck faithfully to his right-to-life principles, easily defeating four pro-choice primary opponents. He is showing no signs of wavering from that position in the general election, even though the Democrats have vowed to make it an issue.

Neither candidate generates much enthusiasm among environmentalist groups. Campbell's rating last year from the League of Conservation voters was a non-threatening 38 per cent, a record that reflects the mining, ranching, and water interests of his rural mountain district. Considine wants market solutions "without senseless regulation and endless litigation."

On free trade, Considine is an enthusiastic supporter of a global economy and the North American Free Trade Agreement in particular. Campbell says he supports NAFTA, but he voted against fast-track authority last year. Free trade could be a tough issue for Campbell. Unions are strong in his district, and union PACs provided much of his primary funding. In the House he has voted with the unions about 80 per cent of the time.

Both candidates support a balanced-budget amendment, but only Considine wants a line-item veto for the President. Both supported the Persian Gulf War (which Tim Wirth opposed). Both oppose gun control. Considine has taken the no-tax-hike pledge; Campbell refuses, explaining lamely that voters have had enough of politicians' promises.

Early polls show Campbell with a lead of between 10 and 20 points, but part of that is simply due to the greater name recognition of a congressman over a former state senator. Considine holds the edge in money so far, and he can be expected to run an aggressive, well-financed campaign.

In a way, conservatives will come out ahead no matter who wins, in that even Ben Campbell is less liberal than Tim Wirth. But the stakes are still high. As a senator, Campbell could tack hard to the left in harmonic convergence with his new constituents along the Boulder–Denver axis. And conservatives could miss a genuine chance to put in the Senate a true believer who wants to put the people back in charge. □

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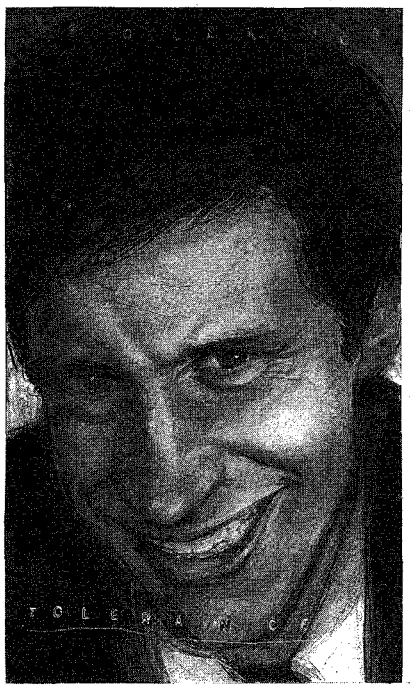

Clashing Values

THE VIRTUES OF TOLERATION

People want approval, not toleration—
and in the current political climate they demand it.
But the project of legislating tastes and preferences
may harm society more than it helps any individual.

JOHN GRAY

TOLERATION is a virtue that has lately fallen on hard times. Old-fashioned toleration—the toleration defended by Milton and by the older liberals, such as Locke—sprang from an acceptance of the imperfectibility of human beings, and from a belief in the importance of freedom in the constitution of the good life. Since we cannot be perfect, and since virtue cannot be forced on people but is rather a habit of life they must themselves strive to acquire, we were enjoined to tolerate the shortcomings of others, even as we struggled with our own. On this older view, toleration is a precondition of any stable *modus vivendi* among incorrigibly imperfect beings.

If toleration has become unfashionable in our time, the reason is in part to be found in the resistance of a post-Christian age to the thought that we are flawed creatures whose lives will always contain evils. This is a thought subversive of the shallow optimistic creeds of our age, humanist or Pelagian, for which human evils are problems to be solved rather than sorrows to be coped with or endured. The result is a world view according to which only stupidity and ill-will stand between us and universal happiness. Grounded as it is in accepting the imperfectibility of the human lot, toleration is bound to be uncongenial to the ruling illusions of the epoch, all of which cherish the project of instituting a *political providence* in human affairs whereby tragedy and mystery would be banished.

Toleration is unfashionable for another, more topical reason. It is unavoidably and inherently judgmental. When we tolerate a practice, a belief, or a character trait, we let something be that we judge to be undesirable, false, or at least inferior; our toleration expresses the conviction that, despite its badness, the object of toleration should be left alone. This is in truth the very idea of toleration, as it is practiced in things great and small. So it is that our tolerance of our friends' vices makes them no less vices in our eyes: rather, our tolerance *presupposes* that they are vices. As the Oxford analytical philosophers of yesteryear might have put it, it is the *logic* of toleration that it can be practiced only in respect of evils. So, on a grander scale, we tolerate *ersatz* religions, such as Scientology, not because we think they may after all contain a grain of truth, but because the great good of freedom of belief necessarily encompasses the freedom to believe absurdities. Toleration is not, then, an expression of doubt about our ability to tell the good from the bad; it is evidence of our confidence that we have that ability.

Such judgments are alien to the dominant conventional wisdom according to which standards of belief and conduct are entirely subjective or relative in character, and one view of things is as good as any other. A tolerant man does not doubt that he knows something about the good and the true; his tolerance expresses that knowledge. Indeed, when a society is tolerant, its tolerance expresses the conception of the good life that it has in common. Insofar as a society comes to lack any such common conception—as is at least partly the case in the U.S. and Britain today—it ceases to be capable of toleration as it was traditionally understood.

Toleration as a political ideal is offensive to the new liberalism—the liberalism of Rawls, Dworkin, Ackerman, and suchlike—because it is decidedly non-neutral

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Mr. Gray is a fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, and Stanahan Distinguished Research Fellow at the Social Philosophy and Policy Center, Bowling Green, Ohio. *This article is adapted from an essay in the forthcoming* The Loss of Virtue, *to be published this fall by National Review Books.*

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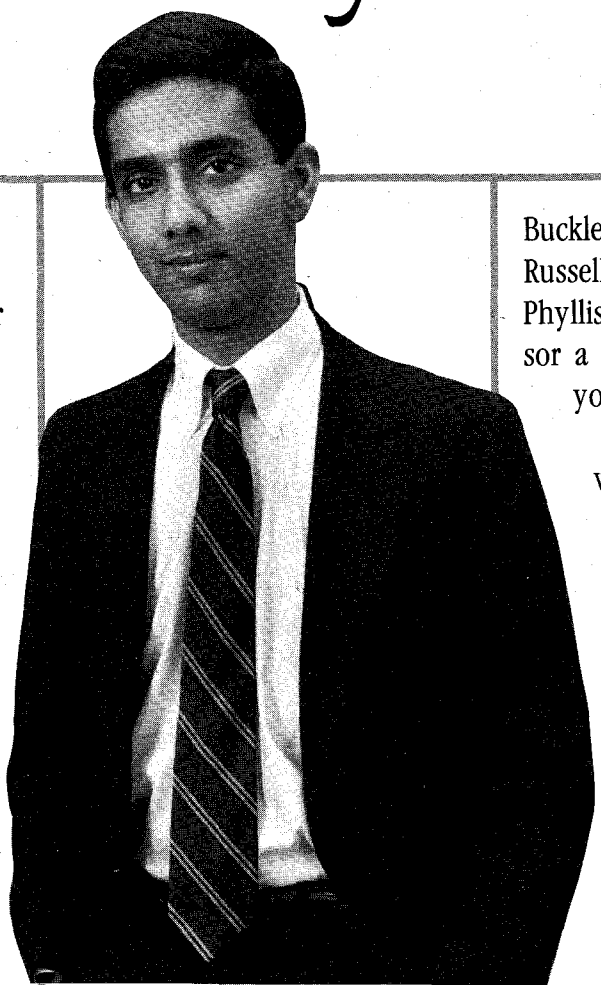

One evening last spring, bestselling author and lecturer Dinesh D'Souza delivered a speech at Kent State University. At the end of his talk several students thanked him for coming to their campus. One of the students, a senior, said sadly, "You know, I've been at Kent State for four years and you're the first conservative speaker I've ever seen."

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in respect of the good. For the new liberals, justice—the shibboleth of revisionist liberalism—demands that government, in its institutions and policies, practice *neutrality*, not toleration, in regard to rival conceptions of the good life. Although in the end this idea of neutrality may not prove to be fully coherent, its rough sense seems to be that it is wrong for government to discriminate in favor of, or against, any form of life animated by a definite conception of the good.

According to the new liberals, such discrimination violates an ideal of *equality* demanding equal respect by government for divergent conceptions of the good and the ways of life that embody them. This is radical stuff, since—unlike the old-fashioned ideal of toleration—it does not simply rule out the coercive imposition of a conception of the good and its associated way of life by legal prohibition of its rivals. It also rules out as wrong or unjust government's encouraging or supporting some ways of life—by education, subsidy, welfare provision, taxation, or legal entrenchment—at the expense of others deemed by it, or by the moral common sense of society, to be undesirable or inferior. It rules out, in other words, precisely a policy of toleration—a policy of not attaching a legal prohibition to, or otherwise persecuting, forms of life or conduct that are judged bad and that government tries by a variety of means to discourage. What the neutrality of radical equality mandates is nothing less than *the legal disestablishment of morality*. As a result, morality becomes in theory a private habit of behavior rather than a common way of life.

The New Puritanism

IN PRACTICE things are rather different. The idea of the moral neutrality of the state with respect to different ways of life faces the problem of what is to count as a *bona-fide* way of life. Since there is nothing in the idea of neutrality that addresses this problem, its adherents fall back on the deliverances of the *bien-pensant* opinion of the day. If it has any clear meaning at all, the idea of neutrality among different ways of life tells us that the way of life of the smoker, the drinking man, or the man devoted to pleasure even at the expense of health should not by any government policy be disprivileged, disfavored, or otherwise discriminated against; and yet, such categories of people have been afforded no protection from the New Puritanism—the Puritanism that is inspired, not by ideas of right and wrong, but by a weakness for prudence that expresses itself in an obsession with health and longevity. The smoker of unfiltered Turkish cigarettes or the would-be absinthe drinker will get short shrift if he argues that these pleasures are elements in a way of life animated by a definite conception of the good that deserves equal protection along with those of the jogger and the vegan.

At the level of theory the problem of identifying genuine ways of life is insoluble, since it requires an evaluation of human lives that will inevitably be non-neutral among some ideals of the good. The life of the drinking man may be stigmatized as alcoholism, which is not a way of life but an illness; or the life of a housewife may be characterized as a form of oppression—not an embodiment of any coherent conception of the good. In practice, favored minorities will obtain legal privileges for themselves while unfashionable minorities will be subject to policies of paternalism and moralistic intervention in their chosen styles of life that earlier generations of liberals—including John Stuart Mill—would at once have rejected as intolerable invasions of personal liberty.

The practical legal and political result of these newer liberal ideas is found in policies of reverse or positive discrimination and in the creation of group or collective rights. For those who have constituted themselves members of a cultural minority group, to be the object of old-fashioned toleration is to feel subject to a form of disrespect, even of contempt or persecution, since they are thereby denied equal standing with mainstream society. More, what is needed to remedy this discrimination, in their view, is not merely parity of treatment, but a form of differential treatment in which their group is accorded privileges over the majority, or over other minority groups. So it is that in the United States—where these practices, predictably, are at their most extreme—there are quotas in universities in favor of some minority groups, and, if rumor is to be believed, there have been quotas against disfavored groups such as Asians. Some who may not hitherto have considered themselves members of a cultural minority—such as many homosexuals—are encouraged by such practices to constitute themselves as one, thereby transforming a sexual preference into a culture or a way of life that demands protection or privilege along with those of selected ethnic minorities. In all these cases, as with quotas created for women in American universities, it is group membership that now confers rights. Indeed, the rights of groups now often trump those of individuals when they come into conflict with one another.

These departures from the old-fashioned ideal of toleration are all too likely to breed more old-fashioned intolerance. The case for toleration appeals in part to the fact that our society contains a diversity of strong and incompatible moral views. Consider the case of homosexuality. There are those, such as some traditional Christian, Jewish, and Moslem believers, who hold that homosexuality is immoral *per se*; others who regard it merely as a preference, that by itself raises no moral issue of any kind; and yet others who regard it as a form of cultural identity, with its own lifestyle and literature. These are deep differences among us, since they reflect not only divergent judgments on moral questions but also different views as to what is the subject matter and character of morality itself. An attempt to give legal force to any one of these views, in circumstances of deep pluralism of the sort we have now, is likely to fragment us further, and to evoke more intolerance among us. A policy of toleration, in which homosexuals have the same personal and civil liberties as heterosexuals and in which neither category bears bur-

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GOP forfeited its opportunity

TOPIC INDEX

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dens the other does not, seems the policy most likely to issue in a peaceful *modus vivendi*.

What a policy of toleration would *not* mandate is the wholesale reconstruction of institutional arrangements such that homosexuals acquired collective rights or were in every context treated precisely as heterosexuals. As matters stand, there is a single form of marriage entrenched in law in the U.S. and Britain. Complete neutrality between heterosexuality and homosexuality would entail the legal recognition of homosexual marriage, just as complete neutrality between Christian and Moslem marriage would entail legal recognition of polygamous marriage. If we go this route, we are not far from the radical libertarian *reductio ad absurdum*—the abolition of marriage itself and its replacement by whatever contracts people choose to enter into.

Apartheid in Reverse

IT IS in the area of multiculturalism that a policy of toleration is most needed, and ideas of radical equality and positive discrimination most unfortunate. We have already noted one disadvantage of policies of affirmative action—that they are applied on the basis of group membership and so entail the collectivization of (at least some) rights. Policies which result in the creation of group rights are inevitably infected with arbitrariness and consequent inequity, since the groups selected for privileging are arbitrary, as is the determination of who belongs to which group. The nemesis of such policies—not far off in the United States—is a sort of reverse *apartheid*, in which people's opportunities are decided by the morally arbitrary fact of ethnic origin rather than by their deserts or needs.

There is a deeper objection to policies of multiculturalism that issue in the creation of group rights. This is that a stable liberal civil society cannot be radically multicultural but depends for its successful renewal across the generations on an undergirding common culture. This culture need not encompass a shared religion and it certainly need not presuppose ethnic homogeneity, but it does demand widespread acceptance of certain norms and conventions of behavior, and, in our times, it typically expresses a shared sense of nationality. Where multiculturalism and toleration diverge is in the recognition within the ideal of toleration that stable liberty requires more than subscription to legal or constitutional rules—it requires commonality in moral outlook, across a decent range of issues, as well. We can live together in deep disagreement about abortion, for example, but not if we also disagree about the propriety of using force on our opponents.

The example of the United States—which at least in recent years has accepted the belief that a common culture is not a necessary precondition of a liberal civil society—shows that the view that civil peace can be secured solely by adherence to abstract rules is merely an illusion. Insofar as policy has been animated by it, the result has been further social division, including what amounts to low-intensity civil war among the races. As things stand, the likelihood is of a slow slide into ungovernability, as the remaining patrimony of a common cultural inheritance is frittered away by the fragmenting forces of multiculturalism.

An upshot of the foregoing reflections is that a society that is multiracial is likely to enjoy civil peace only if it is *not* at the same time radically multicultural. By contrast, the multiculturalists' demand that minority cultures—however these are defined—be afforded rights and privileges denied the mainstream culture in effect delegitimates the very idea of a common culture. Accordingly, the largely healthy pressures on minority cultures to integrate themselves into the mainstream culture are represented as inevitably the expression of prejudice, racial or otherwise, and so condemnable.

We reach a crux now in the idea and practice of toleration—its bearing on the idea and fact of prejudice. The *idea* of prejudice is, perhaps, not as simple as it looks, but the essence of prejudice as a practice seems to be the discriminatory treatment of people on grounds of their belonging to a group of some sort, where this is not relevant to the matter at issue. Now, there can be no doubt that prejudice of this sort can be a great evil—witness the long history of Christian anti-Semitism and the differential treatment accorded to members of diverse racial groups under the *apartheid* system in South Africa—and that it is an evil against which there can and ought to be legal remedies. It is worth noting again, however, that policies of positive discrimination or affirmative action involving quotas are also condemned by any ideal that condemns prejudice. A consistent rejection of policies based on prejudice would be one that was blind to race, gender, and sexual orientation, rather than one that merely reversed earlier or pre-existing prejudicial policies.

There is a deeper question for the ideal of toleration posed by the reality of prejudice. As it is commonly understood, prejudice connotes not only discriminatory practices but also, and more generally, conduct and perception based on stereotype or emotion rather than a dispassionate grasp of the facts. Radical liberals have seen in prejudice of this fundamental sort an evil that must be attacked by legislation—by laws against sexist or racist stereotypes in advertising or children's books, for example. For these liberals, prejudice is an evil that issues, in part at least, from a distortion of the cognitive faculties, which is to be remedied by a destruction of the offending stereotypes. What does the supporter of the old ideal of toleration say of prejudice of this sort? He will not deny that it is often an evil. No one, I take it, who has been pigeon-holed or marginalized on the basis of offensive group stereotypes can pretend to have enjoyed the experience. There nevertheless remains a question about the radical liberal project of abolishing prejudice.

A school of conservative thought, taking its cue from Edmund Burke and Michael Polanyi, finds positive value in prejudice, conceiving it as a repository for tacit or practical knowledge we would not otherwise have at our disposal. This view makes an important point in

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Faith and Intelligence:

Are They Compatible?

Among the well-educated the myth still circulates that religion is the preserve of the dimwitted, unlettered, and irrational. Yet recently *The New York Times Magazine* carried an article on the "return to religion" among intellectuals. From the Ivy League to Vanderbilt to Stanford, and among inquisitive people generally, there's an undeniable renewal of interest in the questions traditional religion raises and seeks to answer. This fascination is largely a result of the failures of secular substitutes for religion (such as positivism, hedonism, technological utopianism, egotism, Freudianism, and Marxism) to give abidingly satisfying answers to the truly significant puzzles in life: goodness, suffering, justice, love, death, and the meaning of it all.

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noting that much of our knowledge is possessed and used by us without ever being articulated. It is not entirely convincing as a defense of prejudice, if only because our fund of tacit beliefs contains tacit error as well as tacit knowledge. It was part of the fund of tacit belief of many Russians and Germans, in the last century and in our own, that Jews poison wells and perform ritual sacrifices; and this falsehood made anti-Semitic policies more popular in those countries. As this example shows, tacit error can have serious and sometimes harmful consequences.

It does not follow, however, that the project of banishing prejudice from the world is a sensible one. Prejudice does serve a cognitive function that is ineliminable in expressing beliefs that have been acquired unconsciously and that are held unreflectively. The idea that we can do without such beliefs, whatever their dangers, is merely another rationalist illusion. The life of the mind can never be that of pure reason, since it always depends on much that has not been subject to critical scrutiny by our reason. The project of abolishing prejudice is hubristic. It is hubristic because, as the history of our own age teaches us, even totalitarian regimes cannot control belief. The most they can do is affect behavior by intimidation, thereby promoting conformism and dissimulation. This is indeed the predictable out-

Is Dan Quayle Right?

VICE PRESIDENT Quayle's attack on the "cultural elite" has created something of a stir. In dumping on television character Murphy Brown, Quayle is said to be engaging in a typical conservative attack on the print, television, and Hollywood media, using them as scapegoats for our current social and political ills. *New York Times* columnist Anna Quindlen scents a cynical use of the old "us and them" routine, dividing Americans rather than bringing us together.

Let us examine some of the substantive issues. First, can we speak of a cultural elite at all? If so, does it influence people's perception of the world, their values, and their behavior? And, finally, is this putative elite in any way responsible for some (not all) of the problems we now face?

Quayle's analysis of our cultural situation *may* be over-simplistic, as the *Times*'s editorial writers suggested. Nevertheless, the use of the term "elite" is quite respectable. Pareto and Mosca introduced the concept as an analytic tool in the late nineteenth century, and both Left and Right have made use of it since. Social scientists today often refer to significant "strategic elites" (leadership groups) in American society—people and groups that influence the course of social and political thought and action, either because their members use their wealth for social or political purposes, or because they play a role in the society which enables them to exert substantial influence or power over its citizens. Rich contributors to political parties or owners of communication conglomerates have significant influence, but so does Clarence Thomas, and so does Anthony Lewis of the *New York Times*.

Given the power ascribed to the various media by feminists, militant blacks, gays, and other groups, it ill behooves them to attack Quayle for agreeing. Reputed leaders of such groups have often proclaimed, to the applause of at least some journalists, that the mass media are partially responsible for negative perceptions of feminists, blacks, and gays shared by the general public. Other "reformers," with the support of many journalists, argue that the media promote violence through the violence of television programs, or rape through the "pornographic" treatment of women.

Can it be true that the media can influence public images of feminists but cannot influence notions about the legitimacy of adultery? Is it true that when Quayle criticizes the "cultural elite" he is dividing Americans, but when Anna Quindlen attacks American males for their opposition to feminist goals, whites for their racism, straights for their homophobia, and Republicans for their selfishness, she is uniting Americans?

In any event there is certainly evidence for some of Quayle's assertions. For example, journalists and leading writers, producers, and directors in motion pictures and television are much more likely than are ordinary people to believe that adultery is not wrong, that women are entitled to abortion on demand, that homosexuality is not wrong, that American society alienates its citizens, and that greater efforts should be made to achieve equality.

Most members of these leadership groups are not socialists. In fact they believe strongly in capitalism. However they reject traditional bourgeois values. That is, they believe they have the *right* to express any impulse; to enjoy any behavior which does not seriously injure others or themselves. If their marriages fail to encourage full self-development, they should end them. "After all, you only go around once." Free (but prudent) indulgence in sexual activity outside of marriage is not sinful or wrong, provided no one is hurt by it. Sociologist Robert Bellah has called this cluster of values "expressive individualism."

Members of the new cultural elites also believe that the government should, as a last resort, provide jobs for all and should work to reduce income inequality. They believe that poverty is a result of the system and that the poor bear no responsibility for their own lives. Sociologist Edward Shils, echoing John Dewey, has labeled this cluster of values and beliefs "liberal collectivism."

Does the cultural elite's ideology affect their presentation of reality to other Americans? On the basis of systematic studies by a number of scholars, we may legitimately conclude that, despite their best efforts to be "fair," liberal and conservative journalists tend to report the news

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come of movements for political correctness in American universities—that they initiate a dissociation of private thought from public life and so undermine the freedom of their institutions.

The totalitarian pedigree of political correctness emerges clearly in another way—in its attempt to impose a single world view on civil society. The totalitarian regimes were *Weltanschauung* states in which only a single world view—a radical form of secular humanism—could legitimately be propagated. It would be an irony of world-historical proportions if, just as totalitarian regimes are collapsing throughout the world, totalitarian order were re-established in the microcosm of the American university. Yet such is the logic of political correctness, with its hubristic project of replacing the variety of prejudice with the hegemony of a single ideology—if, in this case, an ephemeral and parochial liberalism which lacks even the historical sense displayed by Marxism–Leninism.

A humbler and more sensible approach—one suggested by the old-fashioned ideal of toleration, with its insight into the imperfectibility of the human mind—would be one that accepts the inevitability of prejudice and acknowledges that it has uses and benefits, while at the same time being prepared to curb its expression when this has demonstrably harmful effects. In gen-

from their own ideological perspective. But the best journalists do make an effort to control for bias.

Creative artists are less likely to make such an effort. They are mostly (legitimately) less concerned with fairness or objectivity, and their own view of the world inevitably permeates their work.

With some, of course, the process is quite self-conscious. Take Richard Levinson and William Link, highly regarded producers of prime-time television drama, who acknowledge that they and other producers have a "humane outlook."

> We do a show saying homosexuals have a right to conduct themselves the way they choose. We don't know that people are suddenly going to say, "My God, we've seen this show and let's change. We're going to be kinder to homosexuals." Or *My Sweet Charlie* and "We're going to be kind to blacks." . . . We think all of it together, night after night, year after year, may have a little bit of effect.

How great is the influence of various cultural elites? Do cultural changes contribute to social changes? Media critics of Quayle are of two minds. Like everyone else, they like to take credit for things they consider good (the civil-rights movement), but deny encouraging things they believe are bad (violence, rape, etc.). The empirical evidence is equivocal. Social scientists cannot demonstrate a connection between pornography and rape or violence against women. Nonetheless, common sense suggests that the pictures of the world disseminated by cultural elites would have an impact over time. Surely, despite the absence of statistical evidence, we can conjecture that the legitimation of pornography as well as violence against women affects how women are treated. And, if we allow such a conjecture, then does it not follow that the legitimation of sexual promiscuity would affect people's sexual behavior? Either media presentations are important in these areas or they are not. One cannot have it both ways.

LET US take a more concrete example. It is instructive to listen to members of black or Hispanic gangs justify their behavior by white indifference and the failure to provide ghetto dwellers with jobs. They are clearly echoing the statements of television commentators who might pick up such notions from the *New York Times*, whose staff could pick them up from any number of intellectual journals.

Yet we know that the black family began to disintegrate in the 1960s at a time of considerable economic growth. Ghetto violence also began to escalate at that time, even as the participation of black youth in the labor force began its long decline. Welfare expenditures continued to rise during the Reagan Administration. Literally trillions of dollars have been spent on the underclass with minimal effects. Most Great Society programs targeted at the underclass have failed. Even the success of the very expensive Head Start program has been only marginal.

Many quite liberal white and black intellectuals are coming to the view that changing values have played at least some role in the growth of the black underclass. Indeed, William Julius Wilson—whose widely respected 1987 book, *The Truly Disadvantaged*, blamed the condition of the ghetto on purely structural factors—has begun to change his mind. He points out that poor Mexican-Americans in the same inner-city environment as blacks are much more likely to marry after the birth of their first child. He notes that "the stronger the norms against premarital sex, out-of-wedlock pregnancy, and single parenthood the less that economic considerations affect decisions [in regard] to marriage." Given the overwhelming empirical evidence that single-parent families are more likely to produce a new generation which has even more problems than the last, he ascribes the relative success of the current generation of Mexican-Americans, as compared to African-Americans, at least partly to the relative stability of the family among the former.

Perhaps it is time for Anna Quindlen and the others to recognize that cultural understandings inevitably underpin the successful functioning of any society, and that the cultural elite of which they are part may have played some role in creating the problems we face. To be sure, one doesn't have to come up with Quayle's answers. But one does have to think seriously about the issues. The image portrayed by Murphy Brown is not responsible for the problems we face. However, it may be a metaphor for at least some of those problems. —STANLEY ROTHMAN

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eral, however, we should guard against the harmful effects of prejudice not by engaging in the futile attempt to eradicate it, but by trying to ensure that everyone has the same civil and personal liberties. A policy of toleration, in other words, will be one that tolerates even the many false beliefs we have about each other—providing these do not result in the deprivation of important liberties and opportunities. When prejudice does have such an effect, our aim should usually be to protect the liberties and opportunities it threatens, rather than to eradicate the prejudice.

My Judgment, Your Prejudice

THE ARGUMENT so far, then, is that we will do better if we seek to rub along together, tolerating one another's prejudices, rather than attempting the impossible task of ironing them out from social life. A policy of toleration with regard to all but the most harmful prejudices makes sense for another reason: there is not much agreement among us as to what counts as a prejudice.

For some, the idea that heterosexuality is the norm from which homosexuality departs is quite unproblematic; for others it embodies unacceptable prejudice. This deep difference of view among us exemplifies a pluralism in our society that is perhaps deeper than ever before in our history. Our society harbors conceptions of the good life and views of the world that, though they may overlap, are sometimes so different as to be incommensurable: we lack common standards whereby they could be assessed.

As has already been observed, among us there is disagreement not only about answers to moral questions, but also about the subject matter of morality itself. For some, sexual conduct is at the very heart of morality; for others, it is a matter of taste or preference and acquires a moral dimension only when important human interests—such as those of children—are affected. For those who hold the latter view, the appropriate approach to homosexuality, say, is not toleration but a more radical tolerance—that of *indifference*. They believe they have no more reason to concern themselves about the sexual habits of others than about their tastes in ethnic cuisine. It is this radical tolerance of indifference that homosexual activists should be aiming at, rather than the divisive project of group or cultural rights, if they remain dissatisfied with old-fashioned toleration.

It seems plain that our own society contains such incommensurable conceptions and that the tolerance of indifference is for that reason relevant to us. Nevertheless, several important caveats are worth making. First, the claim that there may be, and are present among us, conceptions of the good that are rationally incommensurable is *not* one that supports any of the fashionable varieties of relativism and subjectivism, since it allows, and indeed presupposes, that *some* conceptions of the good are defective, and *some* forms of life simply bad. One may assert that the goods expressed in the lives of Mother Teresa and Oscar Wilde are incommensurable, and yet confidently assert that the life of a crack addict is a poor one. Secondly, the radical tolerance of indifference is virtually the opposite of old-fashioned toleration in that its objects are not judged to be evils and may indeed be incommensurable goods. Very different as they undoubtedly are, these two forms of toleration seem no less necessary and appropriate in a pluralistic society such as contemporary Britain or America. But thirdly, and most importantly, recognition of the value of the radical tolerance of indifference does not mean that we can do without a common stock of norms and conventions or the older virtue of toleration. A common culture—even if one defined thinly in terms of the practices and virtues that make up a liberal civil society—is essential if we are not to drift into chaos; and even such an attenuated common culture will be renewed across the generations only if it is animated by a shared sense of history and nationality. For these reasons, the tolerance of indifference can never be the dominant form of tolerance in a free society; it must always be a variation on the very different, and inescapably judgmental, tolerance I have called old-fashioned toleration.

We return to the thought with which we began. Toleration is a virtue appropriate to people who acknowledge their imperfectibility. Such people will not demand that their preferences be accorded special rights or privileges, or expect that their style of life will receive universal respect. They will be satisfied if they are left alone. Rather than pursuing a delusive utopia in which all ways of life are given equal (and possibly unmerited) respect, they are content if we can manage to rub along together. In this they are recognizing a profound truth, suppressed in the Panglossian liberalisms that dominate political thought today—that freedom presupposes peace. As George Santayana expressed it: "In order to be truly and happily free you must be safe. Liberty requires peace. War would impose the most terrible slavery, and you would never be free if you were always compelled to fight for your freedom. This circumstance is ominous: by it the whole sky of liberty is clouded over. We are drawn away from irresponsible play to a painful study of facts and to the endless labor of coping with probable enemies."

We are most likely to enjoy an enduring liberty if we moderate our demands on each other and learn to put up with our differences. We will then compromise when we cannot agree, and reach a settlement—always provisional, never final—rather than stand on our (in any case imaginary) rights. Oddly enough, we will find that it is by tolerating our differences that we come to discover how much we have in common. It is in the give and take of politics, rather than the adjudications of the courts, that toleration is practiced and the common life renewed. We will achieve a form of common life that is tolerable and stable, most reliably, if we abandon the inordinacy of radical neutrality and cultural rights and return to the pursuit of a *modus vivendi*, shifting and fragile as it may be, in the practice of toleration. □

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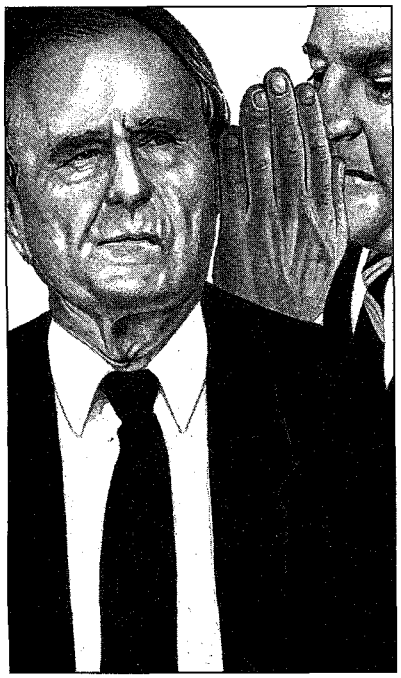

Into the Home Stretch

HOW GEORGE BUSH CAN WIN

Fortunately for the President, there is a deep divide in this country on a few bedrock issues—and he is on the right side of them. Our three analysts offer tips on how to make the differences apparent.

WILLIAM J. BENNETT

THE ADVICE offered herewith is based on a simple premise: George Bush is now on course to lose this election. The President is plagued by a sluggish economic recovery and an environment in which 80 per cent of the American people believe the country is on the wrong track.

The good news is that the President has begun to engage the opposition. Jim Baker's return to the White House probably ensures at least a competent, well-coordinated re-election effort. Republicans can draw some comfort, too, from a volatile political environment in which a candidate who is behind in the polls one week may well be ahead the next. And there is always the possibility that Bill Clinton will hit an iceberg of his own making, having to do with matters of character and credibility.

A skeptical nation seems to have adopted a wait-and-see attitude—or, perhaps more accurately, a "show me" attitude. And that's fair enough. A Republican victory in the fall will require changing the direction, the tone, and most importantly the psychology of the campaign. Especially, it will require a confident, coherent philosophical case for the President's re-election. Here are some thoughts on how, even at this late hour, George Bush might best make the case.

1. The "vision thing." The GOP achieved dominance in the 1980s because we were viewed as the party of energy and ideas. The President should reject the advice that the road to re-election can be paved with vague generalities and last-minute handouts. The campaign should instead seek its second-term mandate by mounting a vigorous intellectual defense of Republican ideas. The motto should be not "Four More Years," but "Four Different Years."

The elections of 1980, 1984, and 1988 were not simply about tax cuts or family values; they were about a world view that wanted to see America strong: strong militarily, to face up to aggression abroad; strong economically, to improve the material condition of our people; and strong morally, to keep America good as well as mighty. This fundamental view of American society remains as sound in 1992 as it was in 1787, and the Republican Party ought not to be intimidated by those whose vision of America is opposed to ours.

The President should not back away from putting some flesh on public-policy bones. He should spell out in detail his proposed tax cuts, curbs in discretionary spending, and entitlement reforms. There is a direct correlation between the confidence a political figure has in his ideas and his willingness to talk in detail about them. Our Republican ideas are better, a lot better, and so we should embrace them, fight for them, bleed for them—and then we will win with them.

2. Use the power of incumbency. We have heard a lot lately about the downside of incumbency, as the word "change" is invoked like an incantation. But there are obvious advantages to incumbency. Chief among those is the opportunity to act and to lead, to point to the future.

One way to shape events is through a series of executive (and in some instances unilateral) actions. For starters, the President should announce that he will enthusiastically adopt the "growth plank" (advocated by Jack Kemp and Vin Weber, among others) as his second-term economic blueprint and throw the full weight

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of his office behind radical education reform and school choice, legal reform and deregulation. The President should veto the Democratic tax bill, declare an economic emergency, and call the Congress back into session. He should exercise the line-item veto; veto the Public Broadcasting Reauthorization bill; suspend the Davis–Bacon Act; and issue an executive order that puts an end to racial quotas in federal hiring. All of these actions—but especially putting an end to racial quotas—would send the media into a frenzy. "Willie Horton II," they will cry. Let them. Race relations are deteriorating in America in part because of a lack of courageous candor from our leaders. A media firestorm will thrust these issues to the top of the national debate, and that would be very good news indeed. Provided President Bush sticks to his guns, he won't run out of intellectual ammunition.

3. Make Bill Clinton an issue. The real chink in Bill Clinton's political armor is his *public* character. The portrait now emerging is that of a man who is unwilling (or unable) to take tough stands, to make hard decisions, or to say "No" to special-interest groups.

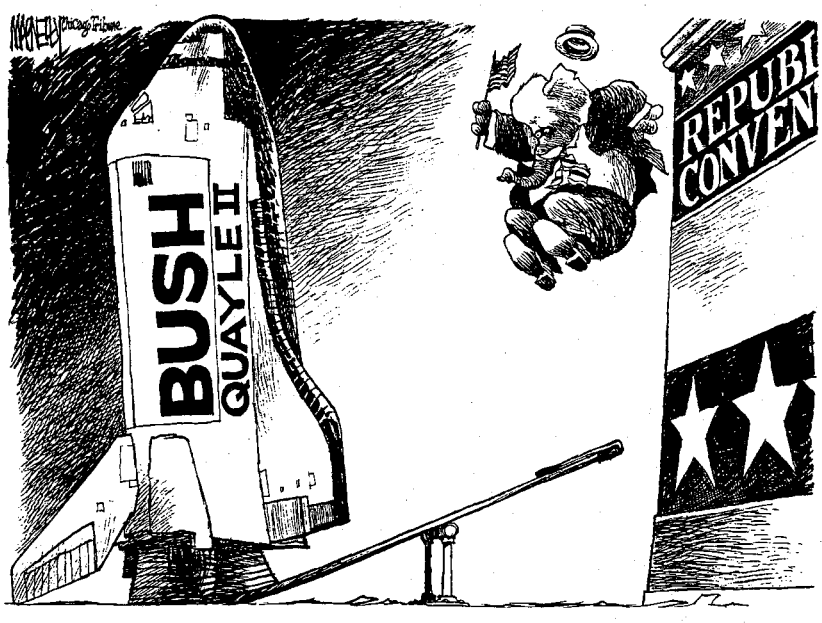
Governor Clinton straddled the fence on the congressional vote to authorize the use of force in the Persian Gulf ("I guess I would have voted with the majority if it was a close vote. But I agree with the arguments the minority made."); equivocated on his support for the North American Free Trade Agreement; flip-flopped on parental notification for teenage abortions; backed away from his June endorsement of raising corporate average fuel-economy standards for automobiles; and reversed his support for school choice for public, private, and religious schools. This kind of political opportunism has introduced into the campaign what *Newsweek* columnist Joe Klein aptly calls the "squish factor." Without compass and without anchor, Governor Clinton will surely be swept away by the eddies and currents of the radical (and still dominant) powers of the Democratic Party: the education unions, the labor unions, the American Bar Association, the so-called civil-rights establishment, the feminist movement, and the Democratic leadership in Congress.

In recent weeks Governor Clinton has been put on the defensive. His economic plan is turning out to be a political Achilles' heel. It calls for massive new tax and spending increases, would impose punitive measures on small-business entrepreneurs, and would do little to stimulate the savings and investment capital needed to spark economic growth, new business formation, or new jobs. The Republican Party should hang a lantern on Clinton's "National Economic Strategy for America." It's a 22-page road map to fiscal and economic ruin.

4. A few tactical suggestions:

a) Make Albert Gore more of an issue. Senator Gore is fiscally reckless. He has earned the National Taxpayers Union "big spender" designation on 11 of 13 annual ratings and he is the only member ever designated the Senate's biggest spender two years in a row.

Senator Gore is also an environmental extremist. *Earth in the Balance* is a rich quarry of bizarre, radical statements that Republicans should continue to mine. Governor Clinton has described *Earth in the Balance* as "magnificent." Fine. We can therefore assume that a President Clinton would agree with the sentiment that our civilization is like a "dysfunctional family" estranged from Mother Earth; that the automobile's "cumulative impact on the global environment is posing a mortal threat to the security of every nation that is more deadly than that of any military enemy we are ever again likely to confront"; that we need a "Global Marshall Plan" of at least $100 billion to pay for a



"Strategic Environment Initiative"; and that the rescue of the environment is "the central organizing principle for civilization."

b) Make Ronald Reagan more of an issue. The Gipper's speech at the Republican Convention in Houston demonstrated that the Reagan magic is still there. Defending Reagan's legacy is both an electoral and a governing imperative. After all, President Bush was Reagan's Vice President for eight years, and it is doubtful that any Republican can win without challenging the widespread (and wildly inaccurate) media assumption that the 1980s was a decade of greed, profligacy, and economic decline.

c) Pull an "October Surprise." Because support for both President Bush and Governor Clinton is soft, many voters will probably withhold final judgment until they see the candidates go head to head in the debates. The President might consider making a dramatic announcement during a debate—for example, a new economic team that will help implement his agenda in the first hundred days of a second Bush Administration. Such a move would help the President seize momentum, steal the headlines, and reassure the nation.

5. Recast the culture and "values" debate. The President should not back away from this issue. It de-

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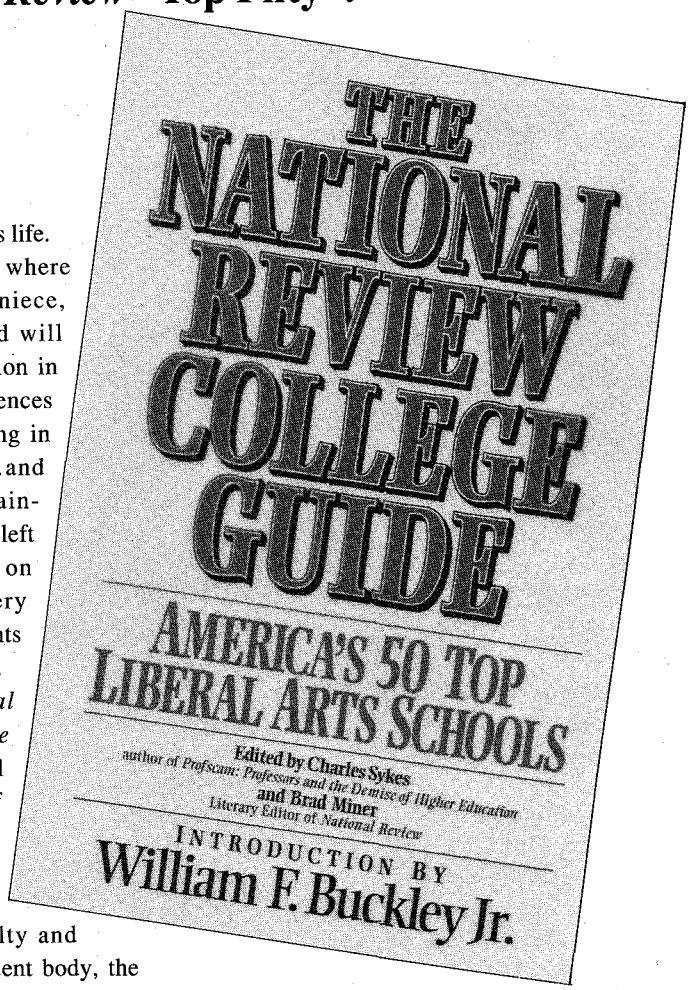
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serves a full and frank public discussion—a better one than we've had so far.

First, the President needs to tackle the argument that our values and the state of our culture are a distraction from the more "real" and "pressing" issues we face, like, say, the federal budget deficit. Cultural issues are more real and more important, and have a more direct impact on individual lives, than many of the fixations of salons and journalists. Most of the social problems that plague modern American society have to do with a breakdown of cultural and moral norms. This is true whether we are talking about abortion, AIDS, births to unwed mothers, child abuse, crime, drug use, family decomposition, race relations, poverty, or welfare dependency. How much government can affect moral and cultural matters varies, depending on the specifics. But if leadership involves addressing important things, here's the subject matter.

Second, traditional values need to be discussed in terms of children. When a society's social fabric begins to unravel, people suffer. Does anyone seriously want to argue *against* the proposition that the sexual revolution, for example, exacted a terrible human cost—especially among women and children?

Third, the values debate has to be linked to a specific set of policies on a wide range of issues: school choice; condom distribution in the schools; handing out clean needles to drug addicts; crime; parental notification for abortion; the effects of tax policies and no-fault divorce policies on families; whether the state should legally recognize homosexuals as adoptive parents; the proper role of religion in public life. There are real differences between our two political parties. And the differences have consequences.

Fourth, there needs to be a better explanation of why we believe what we believe. When we talk about traditional values we are not using "code words" or seeking a political "wedge" issue. We are not seeking to demean or belittle others. And we are not—we should not be—seeking to make innuendoes about Governor Clinton's private life. Rather, we are seeking to honor and to affirm what is best in us, to cultivate "the better angels of our nature." Philosophers from Aristotle on have understood that there is no more important *political* issue than the moral precepts that underlie society and the policies that flow from them. Good, serious politicians are willing to address them.

6. Elevate the tone of the campaign. George Bush's greatest political strength is his personal decency and civility. He needs to ensure that his campaign reflects his character.

Teddy White once wrote that a man running for the Presidency must never talk down to the American people; he must talk up to them, way up. The public is ready and eager for a substantive debate over the real issues facing the nation. We should engage the debate. An election should serve as a vital national seminar that sheds light and allows "a hearing on the great and durable questions of the age," in Lincoln's words.

George Bush is entering the last half of the fourth quarter at least 10 points behind. Mr. President, it's late. Dig down, go hard, go deep. □

TURN THE VOTERS LOOSE

RUSH LIMBAUGH

IF MR. BUSH wants to be President for the next four years, he must give voters reasons to want him in charge as opposed to simply disapproving of Governor Clinton. Otherwise the voters will look at this election as a Super Bowl without anyone's favorite team, hoping for a loser rather than a winner.

1. To be re-elected, Mr. Bush must unmask Bill Clinton and Al Gore as the liberals they really are. It is true that Mr. Bush is not a conservative's conservative, but neither is Bill Clinton anything closely resembling a moderate. And Bush's philosophy is infinitely more in step with the mainstream of this country.

The liberal "outing" of Clinton can be achieved in part by simply identifying Clinton's support base. Just look at the Emmy Awards show and all the daffy leftist groups endorsing him. Sure, some voters will be duped into believing that Clinton and Gore have moved to the center, but will anyone really believe that the militant feminists, the ACLU, NAACP, NEA, and Big Labor, the AIDS, animal-rights, and environmental activists, and the Democratic congressional leaders have moved to the right *with* Clinton and Gore?

That is an absurd proposition, as is being graphically demonstrated even as I compose this magnificent treatise. That wise and devoted statesman, Richard Gephardt, who threatened to withhold funding of Desert Storm unless Bush promised not to deploy troops in an offensive posture, has stated that the North American Free Trade Agreement will not fly in its present form. But wait! Slick Willie eagerly supported the plan early on—that is, until leftist warning clouds gathered. Now, in his typical both-sides-of-the-issue fashion, Clinton is saying he must read the fine print and examine more closely the agreement's impact on jobs and the environment. Uh huh. Right. No, dear readers, Clinton is now

Mr. Limbaugh's first book, The Way Things Ought to Be, *opened at number 6 on the* New York Times *Best-Seller List.*

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backtracking, in a foreshadowing of what will happen if he is elected. Bush is therefore wise to risk introducing NAFTA into the campaign because it provides an opportunity to unmask Clinton on a key economic issue. Remember, liberals lose presidential elections, and the liberals will run a Clinton Administration. NAFTA proves it, so use it. Loudly.

And NAFTA is hardly the only issue. Clinton is a walking, talking public-policy manual with government programs to solve every problem. He wants government on people's backs, in the corporate boardroom, and in women's wombs (a vivid description for federally funded abortions, which Senator Gore says must be part of any national health plan). Clinton preaches the liberal politics of misery and despair. Bush needs to remind the voters that this is America, still the land of abundant opportunity, freedom, and wealth, and that the Republicans want to keep it that way—while the Democrats are ashamed of our heritage, decry and punish individual achievement, and advocate spreading the misery as a means of attaining their precious version of equality.

2. Bush must confront the economic issue head-on, by continuing to acknowledge his 1990 mistake, emphasizing his commitment not to repeat that mistake, and re-adopting supply-side themes. First, forget this business of 128 tax increases. It misses the real point. The question is not how many times Mr. Clinton increased taxes in Arkansas, but what are the respective attitudes toward taxes of the two candidates. Clinton *loves* raising taxes! He can't wait. Good grief, he has promised a $150-billion tax increase *before* he is elected. What will he do if people are ditzy enough to elect him on this basis? Clinton's moderate and centrist Putting People First economic plan, which includes 39 of the 49 brilliant schemes the moderate and centrist Michael Dukakis proposed in 1988, is just begging to be explained. It will, by way of increased taxes and federally mandated business spending on health care, family leave, and job training, rob American business of nearly 66 per cent of total annual profits, according to computations by Senator Phil Gramm.

Clinton has *never* held a job in the private sector, which his moderate and centrist plan glaringly reveals. The President can, with some credibility now, properly condemn Clinton's panacea as a repeat of the 1990 budget deal. The President has admitted his mistake in agreeing to *Democratic* tax increases (remember: the 1990 deal, designed to reduce the killer deficit to around $60 billion over five years, raised the upper bracket from 28 to 31 per cent to get the rich to "pay their fair share"). He can now present himself as the only obstacle/resistance to a repeat of that debacle.

This will not be easy. The liberal media and the liberal leadership in Congress are frightfully close to having pulled off the greatest deception in recent memory: that is that the 1980s, the Reagan/Bush years—the longest period of peacetime growth in the economy without inflation—were illusory: that the wealthy benefited at the expense of the poor; and that the Reagan tax cuts caused the huge budget deficits, which in turn led to the recession.

Thus, to communicate his message effectively, the President is going to have to take on the press, because they have become Clinton's lapdog press secretaries. The people, as distinguished from the media, are capable of understanding the dangers of a Clinton Presidency if exposed to the horror.

3. President Bush should tie Bill Clinton to the tax-and-spend, corrupt Congress. He must transfer the congressional negatives to Clinton by demonstrating that Clinton is tied to Congress on most of the major issues, and is in collusion with them in opposing term limits. Clinton represents himself as a candidate for change, yet opposes that one measure that would ensure change, by restoring congressmen to their originally intended status as revolving-door legislators. If the President succeeds in tying Clinton to Congress, and simultaneously in driving home Congress's low approval rating, he can run against both of them as a match made in hell.

4. Finally, Bush must make it clear to the people that he wants to be their President and explain why. He must present a vision of purpose and optimism and remind people that the greatness of this country lies not in plans or programs, but in individuals—each one of us—who, when guaranteed political and economic freedom, will run rings around anyone else on this planet.

A review of recent history (Reagan, Perot) makes it abundantly clear that people respond hungrily when reminded how important they are not just to themselves but to the nation as well. While Clinton travels the fruited plain attempting (and succeeding all too well) to convince people that the solutions to his amplified versions of our troubles lie in a more activist government, the President should drill home countless times each day the truth: that what sets the United States apart

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from any other nation on Earth is people—not programs or plans—thriving in liberty and justice, free to realize their ambition and aspirations. There is a quite sizable number of people who sincerely desire to vote for Mr. Bush. He must convince them that a vote for him is indeed a vote for the power of the individual and in turn the best thing for America.

Turn them loose, Mr. President. □

FINDING THE MESSAGE

HADLEY ARKES

THE SCRIPT for this political season seems to have been written by the designers of those Olsen & Johnson movies I knew when I was growing up: trap doors flying open, dynamite exploding out of context, and one character, curiously resembling Ross Perot, suddenly tracking across the scene carrying a camel. Against this turbulence, I am moved to do something out of character for myself in these pages, and enter a call for sobriety. Consider: As late as last October, Democratic consultants were remarking on talk shows that any Democrat running for President in 1992 would be running mainly for exposure. Mr. Bush's polls were high enough to deter the first rank of Democratic candidates from entering the field. And this at a time when the economy was still limping along, a year *after* President Bush had thrown over his promise on taxes. Evidently, the President had been able to draw on deep reserves of political capital. And the capital he built up then has brought its yield even now, for it has allowed him to shape the nature of his opposition. It may be a notable advantage, after all, that his opponent is Clinton, not Bradley or Nunn.

Figures like Clinton, Tsongas, and Harkin were plausible only in a field in which the A-team never appeared. The voters dutifully did the winnowing, peeling away the improbable from the implausible, until they were left with Clinton. In the meantime, it was the very weakness of Clinton that invited the advent of Ross Perot, entering from an oblique angle outside of politics. He seemed to depart by the same angle, and Clinton was wafted, in this strange turbulent air, to a place beyond his station, in a momentary ascendance of art over nature. But he is what he is. There is no reason to think that the deficits in him, so plain to the public earlier, have really been effaced. I would not underestimate Clinton, but we should not be distracted from the fact that the President is facing an opponent with deep reservoirs of weakness.

Several weeks ago, Bill Bennett suggested, in an interview, that the President ought to have a conversation with himself and ask whether he really wishes to run. Mr. Bennett was trying to prod the President gently into finding his focus. But of course, Bill Bennett will not suffer a delay of eight milliseconds in resolving how he will vote this fall. For Bennett, the differences between the *parties* are so crisply defined that he has no trouble in divining the differences that would separate William Barr, Jack Kemp, and Lynne Cheney from the people who would fill their places in a Clinton Administration. In that event, why the prolonged straining, by so many people, over the biorhythms of the President? Even if he became catatonic next week, those dramatic differences between the parties would still define what is so pressingly at stake.

I would suggest then that those of us engaged, as we say, in the public discourse, put an end to this entertainment right now: as beguiling as it may be, we should not be drawn into any further discussions about the wit or metabolism of the President. We should not become accomplices in this distracting of the public mind. The President himself has realized that he can win this election only by defining more sharply the differences between the two parties. There is a deeply redeeming aspect, then, of his current crisis: the President knows he cannot coast into office in the benign haze of one of those familiar campaigns to stay with the incumbent. He can win only as a conservative, and that should move him to govern as a conservative.

There is no more telling sign of the current party structure than this: it is taken for granted now by seasoned people that, across the spectrum of policy, from choice in schools to health care, the positions of the Republicans will coincide more closely with the reflexes of the public. The strategic lesson is plain: Republicans will do better in any campaign that brings out the differences of principle that lie behind the issues, and those principles are not conveyed by abstract appeals. There is a real advantage for the President in tending, persistently, to the concrete. For example, is there any doubt as to where the judgments of the public would run if the question of medical care was offered along these lines:

"The Republicans would always prefer an arrangement in which people were left in control of their own money, with the freedom to make their own choices about doctors and their own care. The Democrats would prefer taxing people to sustain a centralized program, administered by the Federal Government. But does

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anyone believe any more that any enterprise is run best when it is run by the government? The Republicans would rather give people tax credits so that they can buy their own health insurance, from companies competing with different packages."

The President could earnestly put to his audience this question, which never fails as a litmus test gauging, in an instant, the sense of being anchored in the world:

"Suppose I told you that we will institute a new program of health care for everyone, to be paid for by employers. If an employer doesn't buy health insurance for his workers, we will add a tax of 7 to 9 per cent on his payroll [the Clinton plan] to support a system of health insurance provided by the Federal Government.

"Now, some people will hear that account and say, Good news: there will be health care for all, and someone else will pay for it. But another kind of person sees something else, and says, Be careful: you've just created a strong incentive not to hire that additional worker. Or, you've created an incentive to keep more people in part-time work, with few enough hours that they could not qualify for these benefits.

"This plan, bristling with good intentions, may or may not give people health insurance, but it will surely destroy jobs. The Democrats try to 'solve' problems with programs that lay more burdens on private industry. And when jobs are lost, they order up a 'jobs program' to train workers, and provide jobs in the public service. What we keep needing, in their view, are more programs and jobs in the government, supported by more charges on private workers and private employers."

Those people who think that the Clinton program will actually deliver health insurance are the army of the credulous; they are, in the politics of our day, the "natural Democrats." The people who will see instantly just how the incentives will be placed are the natural constituency of the Republican Party. But many decent people will not notice these differences until they are pointed out to them. And yet, the person who can grasp these differences in the health plans would suddenly understand what Ross Perot has still failed to grasp: namely that there is indeed a Republican "plan" for the economy. It is not a plan with managers and controls, but it is a set of principles and a framework that can touch every small business in the country.

Down to Earth

WITH AN altered ratio of jibes, but with the same concreteness, this approach could be repeated across the range of policies, from choice in education to the protection of the spotted owl. It would be especially important to speak in this vein in regard to the so-called "social issues." For the media have preferred to keep those questions in a cloud of abstraction. But that could be pierced with a series of questions directed at Mr. Clinton. For example, Clinton has promised to support a federal bill on gay rights, but to exempt "religious organizations." So how would he stand on a move, through the courts, to strip away tax exemptions from churches and religious schools that adhere to a Biblical teaching on homosexuality? For those schools would now be at odds with the "public policy" established by Clinton. Would a gay student have grounds for a federal suit if a state university allowed its students to refuse to accept gays as roommates?

The same approach would be quite as apt for the issue of abortion, and even more urgent, for that question cannot be avoided this year. As much as anything is certain in this life, the question will be posed during the debates. But now that President Bush has lured the question, he could turn the burden of argument on Mr. Clinton. The President could break out, in a few seconds, some facts that come as a startling surprise even to people who describe themselves as "pro-choice": namely, that abortions can be performed in this country at any time, over the full nine months of the pregnancy, and they can be performed for any reason. He could draw upon surveys showing that most people in the country are in accord with his position. The public is averse to abortions performed mainly for the sake of convenience or performed late in the pregnancy; and most people are unwilling to see a child aborted on account of its blindness or disability, regardless of its age. Clinton and his political friends are part of a small cluster of people in this country who will admit no circumstances under which abortions are ever unjustified. Questions from the President: Could Mr. Clinton simply name one instance in which he would be willing to restrict any abortion? Would he mark the place at which people of normal sensibility would never claim "the choice" of destroying a child? If Clinton could simply name that place, the President could say: Fine, we can *start* there, and establish the point that some abortions may be restricted. We can appeal to all moderate opinion to join us at that point, and make a beginning, at least, in protecting lives. Even the pro-choice Republicans may find the move disarming, and they may find it easier to remain, with a better temper, in a party they would rather not leave.

On this matter, we surely know by now that defensiveness is productive only of weakness. To pre-empt the issue would reflect conviction; to break out the facts and raise questions would create vast mischief for the opposition. Mr. Quayle has already demonstrated, in the flap over *Murphy Brown*, just how easy it is to start an argument with the media and make people talk about the subjects we wish to discuss. If Quayle can do that, Mr. Bush has even more powerful levers at his disposal to force his opposition to talk about the things *he* wishes to talk about.

There is nothing to be lost, then, for the President in taking a more playful, combative course, and stirring a politics of argument. The prescription here also accords with his own reflexes. He showed, in the last election, how steely he could be. With the same toughness, and with a steady willingness to break out his arguments, he could win, even in this year, a victory quite bracing for the country, and quite traumatic for the media. □

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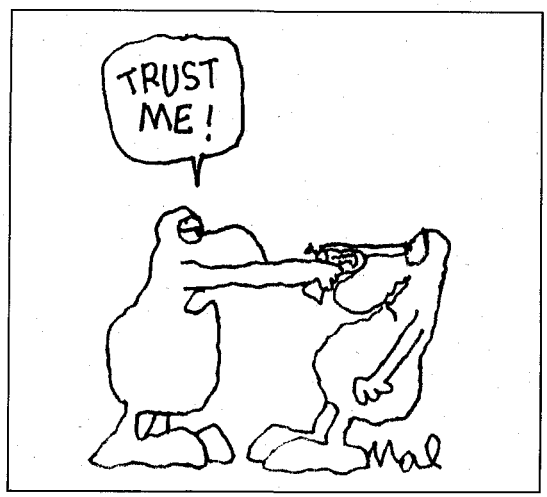
help



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"Maybe? Maybe? *May I remind you, Fineberg, you're supposed to be a* Yes *man!"*

Data Matter

I used to feel neuter
About the computer.
Its influence then, though, was scanty.
But now its vast powers
Are transcending *ours*.
It makes us cry "uncle"—I'm *anti*!

MAUREEN CANNON

"If you're a single parent, how did I get here?"

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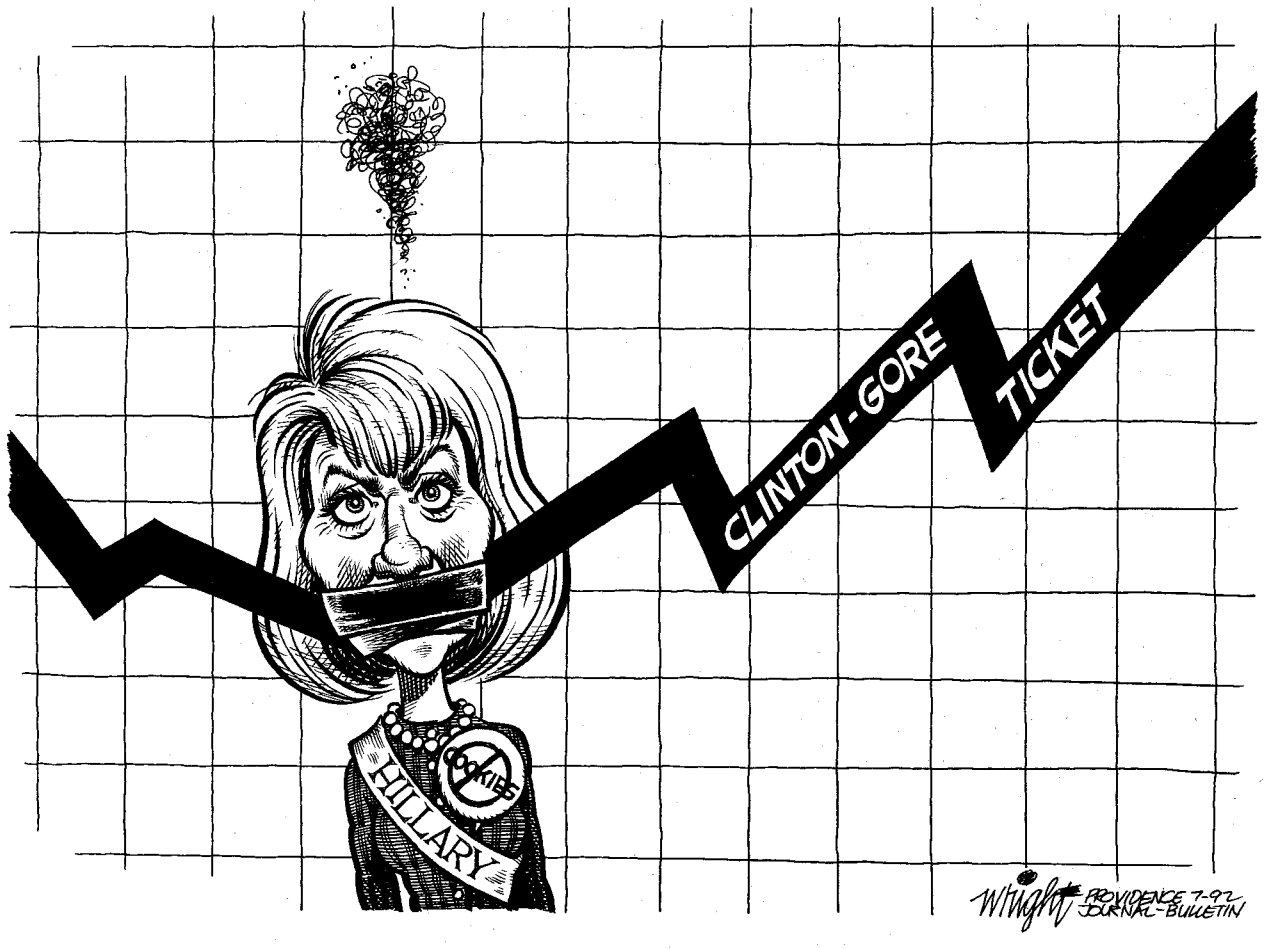
"NEW FOR '92, SIR! THE GIVE-'EM-HELL-HARRY LOOK!"



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Ms. America Goes to Battle

THE FEMINIST ASSAULT ON THE MILITARY

There are many purposes behind the feminists' efforts to restructure the military, but you can be sure that greater national security is not one of them.

DAVID HOROWITZ

FOR NEARLY two decades after the Sixties, the military remained the one institution to withstand the baleful influences of the radical Left. Now that the cold war is over, this immunity appears to have ended. A series of relatively trivial incidents (a joke about women's sexual excuses, a skit mocking a female member of Congress) and a drunken party at which crotches were grabbed in a gantlet ritual have fueled a national hysteria about "sexual harassment" and a political witchhunt that is threatening to deconstruct the military in the way other institutions have been deconstructed before.

Fanning the fires are feminist legislators on the Armed Services Committee, led by Democrat Pat Schroeder, who want women assigned to combat roles. In a July 9 letter to Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, Representative Schroeder put the Pentagon on notice that Tailhook was only "a symptom" and that the resignation of Navy Secretary Garrett does not begin "to address the problem." Mrs. Schroeder called for investigations and prosecutions to purge the Navy of sexual miscreants and bad attitudes.

Mrs. Schroeder herself was the center of the second Navy "scandal," over the Tom Cat Follies at the Miramar Naval Station. The Follies, which were held in a private officers' club and which traditionally include off-color jibes at Navy brass, featured lampoons of George Bush and Dan Quayle. But it was the two skits about Representative Schroeder that caused heads to roll. The first was an altered nursery rhyme: "Hickory, dickory dock, Pat Schroeder s---ed my c---." The second was a skit in which Mrs. Schroeder went to Europe for a sex-change operation and came back incarnated as Dick Cheney. Not far off the mark, considering that Mrs. Schroeder has been mentioned as a possible Secretary of Defense in a Clinton Administration and that Mr. Cheney has been timid on the issue of women in combat.

When the Navy brass was alerted to the contents of the show by a female officer who had been present, the reaction was swift. Five career officers present at the Follies had their commands terminated. (Subsequently, two were reinstated.) The Navy has also apologized to Mrs. Schroeder. Such appeasement, however, has only whetted the appetite of the feminist vanguard, which has stepped up its campaign to pass the Schroeder Amendment, allowing women to fly combat missions. It is seen by advocates as a "wedge" measure that would lead to expanded combat roles and true "institutional equality" for women. A Presidential Commission appointed to review the issue is scheduled to make a recommendation in November.

Militantly Anti-Military

IT SHOULD come as no surprise that many advocates of the change have previously shown little interest in maintaining an effective defense. Representative Schroeder, for example, was an antiwar activist before entering the House. She has been a determined adversary of military preparedness on the Armed Services Committee, where she now serves as a ranking member along with Beverly Byron (who has demanded that every officer merely *present* at Tailhook be thrown out of the service) and radical Congressman Ron Dellums, who denounced Jimmy Carter as "evil" for opposing Soviet aggression in Afghanistan.

When New Left radicals, like myself, launched the movement against the war in Vietnam, we did not say we wanted the Communists to win—which we did. We said we wanted to bring the troops home, which accomplished our objective: the Communists won. With disastrous consequences for Vietnam and the world.

Examples of this kind of double agenda abound in the current feminist campaign and can be found in testimony before the Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in

Mr. Horowitz is co-author with Peter Collier of Destructive Generation: Second Thoughts about the Sixties, *and co-editor of a new magazine,* Heterodoxy.

ILLUSTRATION BY MATT JASIORKOWSKI

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the Armed Forces. Maria Lepowsky, a professor of Women's Studies, provided the commissioners with data to support a combat role for women. Then Professor Lepowsky asked herself: "What would be some possible consequences . . . —if women were put in combat—on American cultural values and American society . . . ?" She answered her own question: "I think there might be increased concern about committing troops to combat, also perhaps a good thing. . . ."

In other words, Professor Lepowsky was advocating that women be put in combat roles because to do so would make it *more difficult* to commit troops to combat. Now this is a kind of candor that is unusual for the Left.

Reform, Soviet Style

MODERATE feminists generally want modest reforms in American society. Technological advances, like birth control, have dramatically changed women's social roles, requiring adjustments in the culture. The most constructive way for these changes to take place is deliberately, and with due respect for consequences that may be unforeseen. As the inhabitants of the former Soviet empire discovered, at great human cost, revolutionary cures can often be worse than the disease.

This is a lesson lost on feminism's radical wing. When advocates of current military reform speak of "gender integration" of the military, they are often invoking the ideas of these radicals without recognizing them for what they are. Gender feminism is a bastard child of Marxism. It holds that women are not women by nature, but that society has "constructed" or created them female so that men could oppress them. Gender feminists are social engineers in the same way as Communists. They deny that human biology fundamentally influences who we are. For them, the solution to all social problems, conflicts, and disappointments in life is to manipulate laws and institutions so as to create liberated human beings, who will not hate, have prejudices, exhibit bad sexual manners, or go to war.

Gender feminists have little interest in questions of America's national security because they believe America is a patriarchal, sexist, racist oppressor whose institutions must be transformed beyond recognition. Of course, the gender feminists are not so naïve as to admit their radical agendas outside the sanctuaries of women's studies departments. In testifying before Presidential Commissions they will say that placing women in combat positions is merely an extension of women working outside the home, and of equal opportunity.

But placing women in harm's way and training them to kill one-on-one is not a mere extension of working outside the home. Furthermore, there are definite limits to equal rights and equal opportunity when biology is involved. Do American males have the right to bear children? Do they have an equal opportunity with women to do so? Do they have an equal aptitude for combat? Ninety per cent of those arrested for violent crimes are male. Obviously males have a distinct advantage over females in mobilizing an existing instinct for aggression for the purposes of organized combat.

The difficulty in confronting these issues on their merits is the emotional element that is introduced by the moral posturing of the Left. One of the leading advocates of equal military roles is Commander Rosemary Mariner, a 19-year career naval officer. Commander Mariner's testimony before the Commission is illustrative: "As with racial integration the biggest problem confronting gender integration is not men or women, but bigotry. It is bigotry that is the root cause of racial and sexual harassment. From common verbal abuse to the criminal acts of a Tailhook debacle, sexual harassment will continue to be a major problem in the armed forces because the combat exclusion law and policies make women institutionally inferior."

The basic elements of the radical view are all here. Sexual relations between men and women are encompassed by the paradigm of racial relations between blacks and whites. The problem of sexual harassment is unrelated to the different biologies and sexual drives of men and women. The real problem is an institutional framework that causes women to be perceived as inferior. In the eyes of the gender feminists, if women were included in combat (and thus treated as the equals they are), if gender roles were abolished, then sexual harassment would cease to be a "major problem."

Consider the proposition: For five thousand years men have been more aggressive sexually than women. In recognition of this, for five thousand years the sexual rules for men and women have been different. And for the same period, many men, failing to heed those rules, have overstepped the boundaries of decent behavior. But now we are to believe that is merely the past. According to the gender feminists, the U.S. military, by including women in combat positions, can solve this age-old problem. As soon as this law is changed, women's self-esteem will rise, men's respect for women will increase, and presto! sexual harassment will cease.

It is difficult to believe that a rational human being could propose such nonsense, but this is the fundamental idea that feminists advance *ad nauseam*, and that our military brass and political leadership are capitulating to at a disturbing pace.

This summer, Jerry Tuttle, a three-star admiral who had been nominated by the President for one of the top 12 posts in the Navy, saw his career run into a wall, as the President was forced to withdraw his nomination. Why? Because a newsletter for which he was responsible printed the following joke: *Beer is better than women because beer never has a headache.*

What is going on in America when a three-star admiral can lose a promotion over a lame joke that he didn't even make? How could a Republican President cave in to pressures like this, and why isn't there national outrage over it? And what is the problem with feminists who can't handle this kind of trivia? Yet they want to enter a war zone and engage in combat!

Studies conducted at West Point have identified 120 physical differences between men and women that bear on military requirements. Yet the U.S. Naval Academy has been criticized for not moving fast enough to increase its female enrollment. Senator Barbara Mikulski has demanded "an attitude change" at the academy, and an official Committee on Women's Issues headed by Rear Admiral Virgil Hill has called for the "immediate dismissal of senior officers who question the role of women in the military." To question—to *question*—the role of women in the military is now regarded as bigotry by the military itself.

The word "bigot" has resonance. It is meant to invoke the specter of racism

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and to appropriate the moral mantle of the civil-rights movement for feminist causes. This feminist attempt to hijack the civil-rights movement is both spurious and offensive, but it is highly effective in preventing opponents from laughing feminist arguments out of court.

As for the facts about women's suitability for combat, it is not always easy to discover them. In its Washington session in June, the Presidential Commission heard testimony from William S. Lind, former defense advisor to Gary Hart. Lind referred to the suppression of information vital to the decisions the Commission is being asked to make. According to Lind, the Army Personnel Office had detailed information on problems encountered with women troops in Desert Storm, which had not been released to the public. The information included the fact that, when the troops were called to battle, the non-deployability rate for women was three to four times higher than that for men. This had a negative effect on unit cohesion, a primary component of combat effectiveness. Pregnancy during Desert Shield was the primary reason for non-deployability.

Also covered up are the consequences of the way women are treated in the service academies. The official position at West Point, for example, is that there have been no negative effects. The facts are different, as a recent Heritage study by Robert Knight reveals. According to the sworn testimony of a West Point official taken in a Roanoke court, when men and women are required to perform the same exercises, women's scores are "weighted" to compensate for their deficiencies; women cadets take "comparable" training when they cannot meet the physical standards for male cadets, and peer ratings have been eliminated because women were scoring too low. "Gender norming"—the institutionalization of a double standard, so that women are measured against other women, rather than against men—is now the rule at all the service academies.

Even the *men's* training program has been downgraded: cadets no longer train in combat boots because women were experiencing higher rates of injury; running with heavy weapons has been eliminated because it is "unrealistic and therefore inappropriate" to expect women to do it; the famed "recondo" endurance week, during which cadets used to march with full backpacks and undergo other strenuous activities, has been eliminated, as have upper-body strength events in the obstacle course.

It is one thing to have second-rate professors because of affirmative-action quotas that lower standards. But a second-rate officer corps?

Not surprisingly, resentment on the part of male cadets is high. One indication is that more than 50 per cent of the women cadets at West Point reported that they had been sexually harassed last year.

It is a perfectly sinister combination. Rub men's noses in arbitrariness and unfairness, and then charge them with sexual harassment when they react. It is also a perfect prescription for accumulating power and controlling resources. Which is what this witchhunt is ultimately about. For every male who falls from grace there is a politically correct career officer or politician ready to achieve grace by prosecuting the cause. Rosemary Mariner is a candidate for admiral; Beverly Byron has been mentioned for Secretary of the Navy; Pat Schroeder has her sights set on being Secretary of Defense.

Another problem raised by William Lind is what happens when women troops are actually deployed. In combat situations, men will act instinctively to protect women, abandoning their tactical objectives in the process. The males' protective instincts will be increased by the knowledge of what other males will do to females taken prisoner. This is not theory, but the experience of the Israelis and other military forces that tried and then abandoned the practice of deploying women in combat.

No amount of sensitivity training, no amount of brainwashing can alter human nature. The Communists proved this at unbelievable cost. They could not make a new socialist man (or woman) who would respond as effectively and efficiently to administrative commands as to market incentives, who would be communist and not individualist. The Communists killed tens of millions of people and impoverished whole nations trying to change human nature, all the time calling it "liberation," just as radical feminists do. It didn't work.

And yet, the military leadership presses on. The Air Force has established a SERE program (Survival, Evasion, Resistance, and Escape), including its own "prisoner of war" camp in Washington state to desensitize its male recruits so that they won't react like men when female prisoners are tortured. In their infinite wisdom, Mrs. Schroeder and her feminist colleagues have enlisted the military in a program to brainwash men so they won't care what happens to women. That's consciousness raising, feminist style.

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It is hardly necessary to have the detailed information that the military has decided to suppress, to see that America's ability to wage war has already been seriously weakened by the deployment of relatively large numbers of women to an overseas battlefield, even absent a combat role. Who does not remember the poignant stories the networks did, in lavish detail, about the children left behind by their mothers dispatched to war duty in the Persian Gulf? (In fact there were 16,337 single military parents who left anxious children behind.)

The net result is that an American President now is under pressure to win a war in four days or lose the war at home. What will be the temptation for dictators to test the will of America's liberated military and compassionate citizenry? These changes have implications for diplomacy and for long-term national-security interests that are literally incalculable.

The fabric of America's institutional and cultural life has already been shredded by the forces of the Left, with disastrous social consequences. Now the purpose and mission of the American military are held to be of less concern than the need to eradicate any possible injustice that might be associated with the exclusion of women from combat. The worst crimes of our century have been committed by crusades to eradicate injustice, stamp out politically incorrect attitudes, and reconstruct human nature. Let's not add the weakening of America's military to the depressing list of disasters of these utopias that failed. □

Post-Communist Blues

CASTRO BOMBS IN MADRID

When even the Spanish Left pans him, Fidel knows it is time to go home.

MARK FALCOFF

MADRID—At the second summit of Latin American presidents and the prime ministers of Spain and Portugal, the big story was Fidel Castro's first—and perhaps last—visit to Spain. The event was supposed to give a lift to the sagging prestige of the Cuban caudillo, hard-hit by the collapse of his erstwhile Soviet ally. Instead, the visit was a disaster, and Castro cut his stay short by several days. (As the conservative daily *ABC* observed, perhaps he was afraid that if he remained away from his troubled island much longer, he might not be able to return at all.)

From the moment his plane landed, Castro realized that this was not going to resemble his other overseas visits—to places like Angola or the former Soviet Union. Spain is, after all, a democratic society, with a full range of opinion expressed in parliament and the daily press. While there were small crowds of sympathizers gathered outside his hotel and the conference site, there were also hundreds of anti-Castro demonstrators (many—but not all—Cuban refugees resident in Spain). One poll showed that more than 55 per cent of Spaniards thought his visit "a bad idea." The lack of popular enthusiasm caused Castro to cancel plans to circulate through Madrid; instead, he mostly stayed in his suite at the sumptuous Ritz Hotel.

At the conference itself, held in the old Senate building attached to Madrid's Royal Palace, Castro—accustomed to being the center of attention—was merely one of two dozen, including such attractive personalities as Nicaragua's President Violeta Chamorro, Argentina's President Carlos Menem, and, above all, the hugely popular King Juan Carlos. Protocol officers were besieged by requests from chiefs of state not to sit next to Castro at the gala opening dinner. (He ended up being sandwiched between a Spanish royal princess and an elderly duchess.)

Mr. Falcoff is a Resident Scholar at the American Enterprise Institute.

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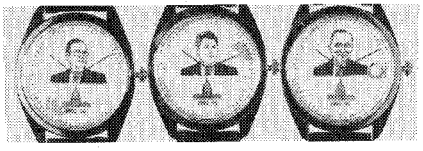

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Castro's speeches were strangely out of tune—worn clichés about imperialism and exploitation. He failed in his two objectives—to get the final document to condemn the U.S. economic embargo (which he persists in calling a "blockade") and to prevent the Latin American presidents from advocating "representative democracy" for the region. Spain's Socialist Prime Minister Felipe González reacted strongly on prime-time television. Repeatedly referring to Castro as "authoritarian," González insisted that there could not be genuine integration in the Ibero-American community without "democracy as a common shared value."

González repeatedly turned aside attempts by journalists sympathetic to Castro to place the blame for Cuba's problems on the United States. Spain has never accepted the U.S. economic embargo, he said, but "Cuba's difficulties do not rest upon this alone. There are internal factors as well, such as an economic system that is not very productive."

Although Castro had not asked to see him, González said that, if he did have the chance, he would ask Castro to release his political prisoners and allow exiles to return freely. Addressing not only his Cuban guest, but also like-minded Latin American politicians, González concluded that "the principal danger for democracy is not poverty," but rather "those who do not believe in democracy, and who drag people into populist adventures from which there is no return."

Changing Times

ON THE face of it, Spain should have been the one European country where Castro could still find a sympathetic hearing. His father was born in Galicia, Spain's impoverished northwestern region, and emigrated to Cuba after serving there in the expeditionary force sent to subdue its patriot armies.

In many ways Castro is more Spanish than Cuban, though his "Spain" is about seventy years out of date. Until the 1930s, Cuba itself was the most "Spanish" of Latin American countries—in food, customs, culture, and ethnic composition. Castro's anti-Americanism has always enjoyed wide appeal in Spain—on the Left for obvious reasons, but on the Right as well. Relations between the Cuban revolution and the Franco regime were always correct and sometimes even cordial; as an old-fashioned Spanish nationalist the generalissimo could not resist the spectacle of the hated "Anglo-Saxons" being expelled from the island where they had humiliated his country in 1898. The advent of a Socialist government in 1982 seemed to foreshadow even closer ties, and in fact until recently Spain was one of the two Western European governments to maintain aid programs in Cuba (the other was Sweden).

Times, however, are changing—in Spain, in Latin America, in the world. The collapse of the Soviet bloc has thrown Communist and philo-Communist forces into confusion and disarray. The Latin Americans themselves—fearful of missing the twenty-first century—are rushing headlong into trade talks with Washington, and speak freely of a "privileged relationship" with the United States. Meanwhile, Spain has entered both NATO and the European Community, and has elected a government which, although Socialist, unambiguously embraces free-market economics; as a result, Spain's

THERE ARE still large sectors of intellectual opinion abroad which, while recognizing that the Castro regime is synonymous with dictatorship, censorship, and violation of human rights, nonetheless acclaim it for certain "achievements" in education, health, and sports. They throw these "achievements" in the face of the Latin American democracies, so beset by social and economic inequalities, deficiencies in housing, health, etc.

Let us grant that there have been some advances in these areas in Cuba. Let us concede that a dictatorship can sometimes bring benefits to a society in very specific areas. But what is unjust, what is false, is to view a dictatorship so myopically, separating it from its overall context. A dictatorship can only be judged in its totality, in which the benefits cannot be separated from the costs.

In that sense it is a tenacious error to speak of the "achievements" of the Cuban revolution. Before the revolution there was, of course, vast social inequality, but also a flourishing economy, one of the most prosperous in Latin America. Since Cuba attached itself to the Soviet system, it has received vast subsidies—subsidies which in scale far exceed any aid program of the United States to any Latin American country. Yet in spite of this, and in spite of important policies of internal redistribution, Cuba is now one of the poorest nations not only in Latin America but in the world. Certainly few economies have experienced such a sharp drop in living standards. After 33 years, rationing is harsher than ever.

It is in the light of *this* reality that "achievements" in certain areas, such as education and health, ought to be judged.

Then we have to consider the additional price of a million Cubans forced into exile; of hundreds of thousands, possibly millions, of Cubans living in their own country as zombies, as helpless victims of a totalitarian system. Or the terrible isolation in which Cuba has been forced to live, separated from the rest of Latin America and the rest of the world, closed off from extraordinary opportunities in technology, living standards, employment, ideas, markets; turned inward against history, the present age, modernity. Is all that worth the regime's "achievements"? The question is worth putting to the Cuban people themselves. I wonder if *they* believe that these things make it all worth while.

The only way we can know is through free elections. And while no one can be absolutely certain of the outcome, unless the Cubans are are wholly different from all the other peoples who thus far have had the opportunity to express their wishes, they will vote against dictatorship and in favor of the democratic system. In any event, let the Cubans speak for themselves. Let us put an end to this monologue which has dominated Cuban public life these last 33 years. Let us put an end to repression, so that the Cuban people too can enjoy the opportunities which the present age is now opening to all. □

Excerpts from the remarks of Mario Vargas Llosa, July 24, 1992, translated by Mark Falcoff.

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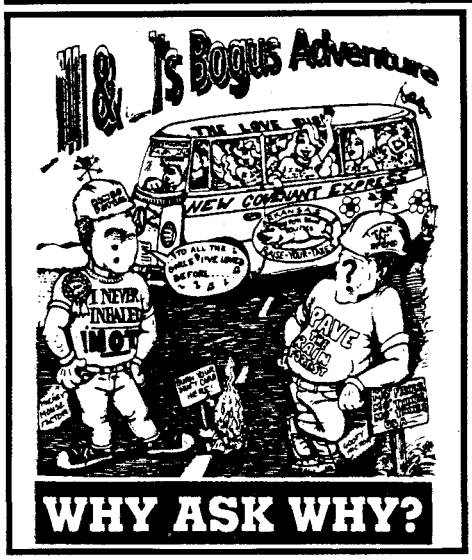

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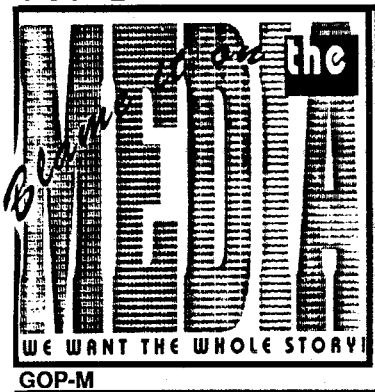

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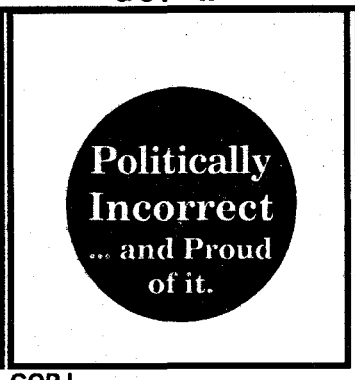

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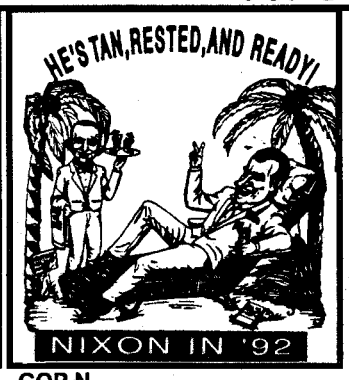

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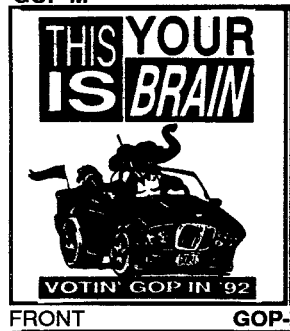

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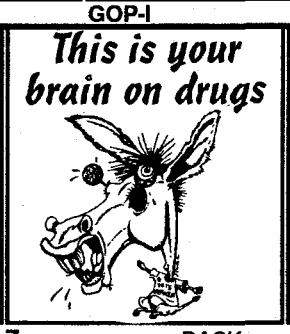

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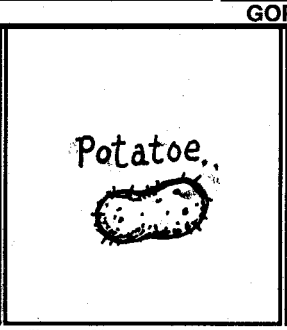

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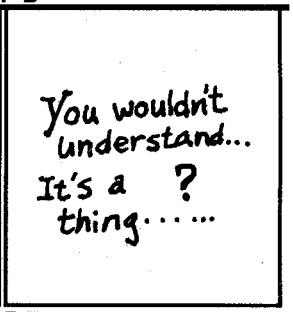

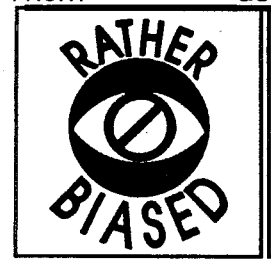

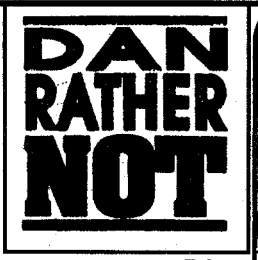

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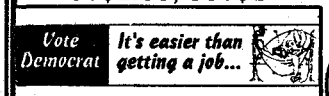

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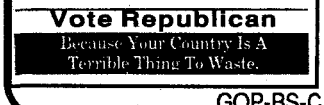

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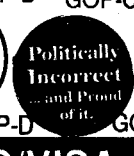

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economy is now the fastest-growing in Western Europe. A cultural boom (*"la movida"*) has generated a new sense of self-confidence, and thereby attenuated anti-American sentiments which fed upon feelings of inferiority.

Moreover, Spanish–Cuban relations have not gone well of late. For the last two years the Spanish embassy in Havana has resisted attempts by the Castro government to forcibly extract Cubans who have taken refuge there. In Spain, Cuban secret police operating behind diplomatic passports have become increasing brazen; in the last year they have attempted twice to kidnap prominent Cuban exiles, in broad daylight, in the center of Madrid. Expulsions from the Cuban legation for violation of diplomatic immunity have become a normal part of the bilateral relationship.

Spaniards cannot help noticing that Cuban defectors are increasingly coming from the island's more privileged classes. Two years ago it was the political counselor of the Cuban embassy in Madrid (actually the head of Cuban security in the peninsula); a month before Castro's arrival, it was the new political counselor. During Castro's visit, his personal television cameraman requested asylum, as did two musicians from the National Orchestra who had been sent to Barcelona for the Olympics. If this is what those with access to the foreign-currency stores want to do, what about the rest of the Cubans?

Meanwhile, intellectual fashions have been changing not only in Spain, but also in Latin America. One indication is the petition demanding an end to the U.S. "blockade" which appeared the second day of the conference in Madrid's flagship daily, *El País*. As recently as two years ago, the signatories would have included the flower of the Spanish and Spanish-American intelligentsia; this year the only names of importance were disappointed politicians like Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas of Mexico or Luís Inácio Lula da Silva of Brazil, or Castro's ever-reliable cultural artifact Gabriel García Márquez, the Colombian novelist-*cum-bon-vivant*. The rest were Communist hacks, former functionaries of Chile's discredited Allende regime, Mexican academics, and veterans of the Venezuelan and Argentine branches of the now-defunct World Peace Council.

Finally, the Cuban community in Spain has begun to learn how to use cultural issues to win support for its cause. While the Madrid summit was in session, a few blocks away another conference was taking place—this one entitled "Cuba: A Dissident View." Organized by Cuban writer Carlos Alberto Montaner and sponsored by the Cuban Democratic Platform—a coalition of liberals, Social Democrats, and Christian Democrats in exile—it included art and photo exhibits, videos, and political satire.

The centerpiece of "A Dissident View" was a roundtable discussion among former sympathizers with the Castro regime, headed by Peruvian novelist Mario Vargas Llosa. The spectacle of so many former leftists—but particularly Vargas Llosa—speaking frankly and self-critically about their earlier adoration of the Cuban dictatorship was something even Spanish television could not ignore. In this way, Castro ended up having to share air time on the evening news with one of the most glamorous figures of Latin American culture—who spoke directly and eloquently about the myth of Castroism and the need to settle historical accounts with it. [See box.]

In the final moments of the meeting Aleksei Surkov, a deputy from the new Russian parliament, handed a representative of the Cuban Democratic Platform a small flag of the new democratic Russian republic, together with a portrait of the poet Aleksandr Pushkin. "With this," he told his Cuban and Spanish friends, "you can write the final period to the history of Cuban totalitarianism." A few days later, in a virtually unprecedented action, Prime Minister González received the representatives of the Cuban Democratic Platform, and, after a two-hour discussion, pledged to work with them toward a democratic transformation of Cuba. For Castro, the Spanish front is closing. □

How to Save the Cities

BIG-TOWN BLUES

Twelve years of neglect? A little benign neglect is just what our cities could use.

STEPHEN MOORE

TWENTY-FIVE years ago John Kenneth Galbraith proclaimed that there was "nothing wrong with New York that doubling the city budget wouldn't solve." City officials have been testing that hypothesis ever since. In fact, between 1965 and 1990 New York City's expenditures, adjusted for inflation, have not doubled, they've almost *tripled*—from $14 to $37 billion. New York City's budget is now larger than that of many small nations and all but two states.

If Galbraith's prescription had been correct, then New York should now be a modern-day Garden of Eden. Instead, a virtual stampede of New Yorkers is headed for the New Jersey Turnpike. Since the mid 1960s half a million people and some fifty Fortune 500 company headquarters have packed up and left. In the past three years alone the city has lost 370,000 jobs.

How has New York managed to inflate its budget by $23 billion while making the city *less* livable? The answer is a deeply ingrained culture of bureaucracy. With 330,000 people on the city payroll, New York has more government workers than all but a handful of cities have people. It has three times more staffers per resident than the average U.S. town but, by most accounts, worse municipal services. It has 5,000 school administrators—i.e., educators who never see the inside of a classroom—compared with less than fifty for New York's superior

Mr. Moore is director of fiscal-policy studies at the Cato Institute.

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Catholic schools. The New York public-school system spends over $6,000 per student on schools that are among the very worst in the nation.

Add to this that New York City may be the most generous employer in America. Thanks to two decades of mind-boggling concessions to the municipal unions, the average pay for a New York public-school janitor is $57,000, and some make as much as $80,000 for sweeping floors and emptying trash. After 15 years on the job many city employees get an inconceivable 51 days off per year, counting sick days, holidays, and vacation time. In other words, they work the equivalent of four days a week!

Now here's the best part. Mayor David Dinkins blames New York's problems on the Reagan–Bush Administrations' "12 years of neglect of the cities." He calculates that if federal aid had only kept pace with the growth of the city budget (now *there's* a scary thought) New York would have had nearly $4 billion more to spend this year. God only knows what Dinkins could do with an extra $4 billion, unless his eventual aim is to place every remaining New Yorker on the city payroll.

Amazingly, most big-city mayors, urban scholars, and Democrats in Congress agree with Dinkins's assessment. Capitalizing on the Los Angeles riots and looting (inner-city residents' way of "crying out for help"), the urban lobby has demanded a $35-billion "Marshall Plan for the Cities." They may well get it. Bill Clinton has already pledged that, if he is elected, the money is as good as in the pipeline.

The mayors are at least right about one thing: many of America's once mighty industrial centers are rapidly deteriorating into crime- and poverty-ridden hollow cores. Newark has lower real per-capita income today than it did in 1969. Cleveland, which in the 1950s was home to nearly one million, now has about 450,000 people left. In Detroit the husband is an endangered species: according to 1990 Census data a horrifying 48 per cent of all Motor City households are female-headed. Washington, D.C., had some five hundred murders last year, and has now been dubbed the "murder capital of the world." In the St. Louis area thousands of residents dispose of garbage by burning it in their backyard. These

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are conditions one finds in the cities of Third World countries.

If pumping more federal dollars into the inner cities could reverse this urban sclerosis, then by all means we should invest the money. Unfortunately, most of America's dying cities are precisely like New York. Real per-capita city spending escalated from $435 in 1950 to $571 in 1965 to $1,004 in 1990. At the start of this spending binge, America's largest cities were at the peak of prosperity—indeed, city-dwellers had higher average incomes than suburbanites. Now the city-dwellers' average incomes are 50 per cent lower. A 250 per cent increase in outlays has not prevented this urban bleeding—if anything, it has accelerated it.

Ah, but the mayors claim that cities have bigger budgets today because they have greater spending needs—to combat AIDS, homelessness, drug use, unemployment, and so on. What this conveniently ignores is that, until the mid 1960s, the burden of welfare and health care for the indigent fell almost exclusively on the shoulders of local governments. Then, there was no HUD, no food stamps, no Medicaid. Today most welfare and health spending is paid for by the Federal Government and by the states. The percentage of city budgets devoted to health and welfare has steadily *shrunk* since the 1950s.

Since the late 1960s the feds have invested $2.5 trillion (that's a million million dollars times two and a half) on urban renewal and the war on poverty. Walter Williams of George Mason University calculates that this is enough money to purchase all the assets of the Fortune 500 companies *plus* all the farmland in the United States. In short, Congress has already tried the equivalent of six Marshall Plans to resuscitate dying cities. But still no urban revival.

Self-Inflicted Wounds

WHAT ALL of this indicates is that urban advocates are right when they say that America's cities have been victims of destructive government policies. They absolutely have—but not those of Reagan or Bush. The cities' wounds are self-inflicted. For more than a generation and with few exceptions, America's largest cities have been under liberal Democratic rule—both in city hall and on the councils. The cities have served as incubators for fashionable and often well-intentioned left-wing social and economic experimentation.

This experimentation has exacted a heavy price. Washington, D.C., for example, has a $5.25 minimum wage—20 per cent above the U.S. rate—and one of the nation's highest rates of teenage unemployment.

Milwaukee's school busing map is a maze of zig-zagging lines that resembles the handiwork of a Soviet central planner. The supposed beneficiaries of this racial balancing scheme, namely inner-city blacks, are lobbying for a voucher program so they can get their kids out of the school system.

Philadelphia's arcane unionized work rules offer city employees 14 paid holidays (most workers get 8), require that the art museum be fully staffed on Mondays and holidays when it is closed, and once prevented for months the firing of a worker who repeatedly skipped work to play pinball and video games. The unions claimed that pinball is a gambling addiction, and thus a handicap. Philadelphia is also near bankruptcy.

Los Angeles now requires small-business merchants to file over eighty forms before they can open a new store. The underground economy in L.A. is flourishing.

Rent control in New York is linked to the destruction of at least 300,000 units of mostly low-income housing from 1972 to 1982. The rate of abandoned housing is three times higher in New York than in the rest of the nation, despite some of the highest real-estate values in the nation. New York also has the highest number of homeless residents.

The single most important factor, however, in the decline of the central cities has been the endless cycle of overspending and overtaxing. This is amply documented in a forthcoming Cato Institute study, which compares the tax and spending levels in two groups of U.S. cities: ones with population growth of 25 per cent or more from 1980 to 1990 (the high-growth cities), and ones with a population loss of 7 per cent or more (the shrinking cities).

Spending in the high-growth cities averages $759 per person and 6.2 per cent of personal income, versus $1,177 and 11.9 per cent in the shrinking cities. Per-capita taxes are about twice as high in the shrinking cities ($583) as in the high-growth cities ($305). Finally, the high-growth cities are far less bureaucratized: they have 114 employees per 10,000 residents; the shrinking cities, 232.

Urban policy experts instantly retort that a big budget and high taxes are a *consequence* of a city being poor, not a *cause*. However, the evidence strongly suggests that, in fact, high taxes and spending are driving businesses and people out of the shrinking cities. The study found that high spending and taxes at the start of the period of analysis, 1980, is associated with low growth over the ensuing decade. The cities with the most rapid population losses in the 1980s started the period with budgets and taxes that were twice as large as the high-growth areas.

There is a glimmer of hope that a new breed of reformist mayors are willing take the steps necessary to reverse the tax-and-spend cycle. In Chicago, for instance, Mayor Richard M. Daley and powerful City Council Finance Chairman Edward M. Burke, both Democrats, are trumpeting the advantages of privatizing city services and assets. "Privatization introduces the efficiency and productivity incentives of the private sector into public services," says Burke.

Even more encouraging are the actions of Mayor Edward Rendell in Philadelphia. Elected last November by a 2 to 1 margin as the first Democrat in a century to win the mayor's office without the public-employee union's endorsement, Rendell took over a city $1.2 billion in debt. He has infuriated the urban lobby by declaring that Philadelphia does not want any new revenue-sharing funds, because Philly's problem is too much spending, not too little. He intends to save tens of millions of dollars through competitively contracting garbage collection and other city services while eliminating unnecessary programs.

If near-bankrupt Philadelphia can heal itself, then there is hope for America's other industrial cities after all. The dirty little secret of America's urban crisis is just this: there is nothing wrong with New York—or Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Philadelphia, or St. Louis—that cutting the city budget and taxes in half wouldn't solve. □

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Columbus: On and Off the Reservation

WILCOMB E. WASHBURN

DID COLUMBUS destroy an idyllic world of primitive virtue by introducing the corruptions of Western civilization? Were the "naked people Columbus saw in 1492," as N. Scott Momaday puts it in the first chapter of *America in 1492*, "members of a society altogether worthy and well made, a people of the everlasting earth, possessed of honor and dignity and generosity of spirit unsurpassed," or were they members of *Sick Societies*, as Robert B. Edgerton puts it in his book?

Roberto Parada

Edgerton's book focuses on warfare, witchcraft, divination, torture, human sacrifice, child abuse, female genital mutilation, male dominance, disease, poor health practices, bad nutrition, taboos, footbinding, suttee, blood feuds, and other traits of small (and sometimes large) traditional societies. Such practices, in the spirit of cultural relativism, are rarely criticized by anthropologists and are often interpreted as adaptive responses to the environment. The essays in *America in 1492* are sparing in their consideration of these subjects, if they are mentioned at all. For example, in Miguel León-Portilla's thirty-page chapter on the cultures of Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean, only two sentences are given to Aztec human sacrifice. León-Portilla writes that "the ritual communion of small pieces of the victims' flesh, offered 'to deserve the god's existence'—a sacrament vividly anticipating one that would soon be preached by Christian missionaries—[was an] inseparable ingredient of a culture which, with all its contrasts, was a summing up of Mesoamerica's grandeur."

Sick Societies: Challenging the Myth of Primitive Harmony, by Robert B. Edgerton (Free Press, 270 pp., $24.95)

America in 1492: The World of the Indian Peoples before the Arrival of Columbus, edited by Alvin J. Josephy (Knopf, 477 pp., $35)

Edgerton, on the other hand, writes less poetically of the practice of "Aztec cannibalism," in the course of which "sacrificed bodies were rolled down the temple stairs (probably made as steep as they were to facilitate the process) to waiting men who carved them up as adroitly and dispassionately as any butcher might deal with a side of beef before the various parts were carried away to be seasoned, cooked, eaten, and hugely enjoyed."

America in 1492 contains chapters on the different geographical regions of the Americas in 1492 and a series of topical chapters on Indian languages, religion, social organization, intertribal trade and relations, science and technology, and the arts. There is not a hint of violence or warfare in some of the chapters, and few references to war in the other descriptions of Indian life before Columbus.

Edgerton takes a less politically convenient view. An iconoclast among anthropologists, he insists that many native practices were (and are) maladaptive rather than adaptive, and caustically chides the "adaptivists" in his profession who interpret virtually any bizarre practice in terms of its presumed positive social uses. He attacks frontally the belief that " 'primitive' societies were far more harmonious than societies caught up in the modern world." He concludes reasonably that "it is likely that the ethnographic record substantially underreports the amount and kind of human suffering and discontent that has actually existed in the world's small societies, just as it underrepresents the various things that people believe and practice that do not contribute to their well-being."

Edgerton's book draws most of its examples from Africa, Papua New Guinea, Australia (particularly Tasmania), and the Arctic. Is it possible that Edgerton's strictures on the nasty, brutish lifestyles of those non-American societies are inapplicable to the American Indians cited by those who created the "myth of the noble savage"? Present-day defenders of that myth have yet to offer a reason to believe that, as primitive societies go, those native to the Americas were less primitive than the rest.

It may seem strange that after five hundred years we are still debating the nature of native cultures and whether the European cultures that were superimposed upon them were a force for good or evil. The difficulty in assessing the consequences of the discovery of America is that we have to examine the entire five hundred years between 1492 and 1992. That this is true is illustrated by the aftermath of another historical event: the expulsion of the Jews and Arabs from Spain, and the imposition of the Inquisition in the years following. The intellectual life of both Portugal and Spain in the medieval period owed much to Jewish and Muslim scholars. The loss of these elements was a self-inflicted wound upon Spain, from which

Mr. Washburn, Director of the Office of American Studies at the Smithsonian Institution, is the author of The Indian in America.

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the country is only now recovering. And yet it has taken five hundred years for the Spanish government formally to acknowledge its mistake. How much more momentous must be the discovery of America, which the Spanish historian Francisco López de Gomara, in his *General History of the Indies* (1552), called "the greatest event since the creation of the world (excluding the incarnation and death of Him who created it)"?

Acknowledging the importance of the discovery, was it a blessing or a curse? Did good supplant evil, or evil good? And does our current preference for a democratic society and egalitarian ideals render us incapable of judging the merits of autocratic and hierarchical societies, such as those of the Aztec and the Inca?

Because Columbus has been seized upon by the Left to serve as whipping-boy for all the problems with Western civilization, many conservative institutions decided to play it safe in their activities for 1992. Columbus has been largely invisible at the Seville World's Fair, in the great "1492" exhibition at the National Gallery of Art, and in many other events that were scheduled to coincide with the five-hundredth anniversary of his voyage. This insecurity comes ironically at a time when the non-Western world is seeking to emulate the West, to emigrate to the West, and in every other way to indicate that Western values have triumphed over their own in economics, politics, science, and culture. The real discovery (unacknowledged though it is) is of the world Columbus *left*, by the inhabitants of the worlds he discovered, even as their self-appointed intellectual spokesmen continue ritually to denounce the West.

Perhaps the most controversial subject in discussions of the "encounter" (now the politically correct way to refer to what used to be called the "discovery") is the role of Christianity. In the nineteenth century there was even a move to canonize Columbus. Today it seems that, measured by the sincerity and commitment of its followers, Christianity has emerged as a stronger force in America than in Europe; but whether the Church has been a force for good or evil in the New World continues to be the subject of vigorous and often bitter debate. The Pope has seen the five-hundredth anniversary of Columbus's "arrival" (another politically correct alternative to the word "discovery") in the New World as "giving a new thrust to evangelization." On the other hand, many of the mainline Protestant churches (and a few of the Catholic clergy) have declared Columbus's arrival "a historic tragedy" (as the National Council of Churches put it) and called on the West to repent rather than celebrate the event. This is a strange response from people who, at least in theory, believe that Christianity constitutes the ultimate revelation of God's will before the people of the world. Anyone committed to the idea that Christianity offers a universal doctrine of salvation cannot coherently maintain that its arrival in the Americas was anything but an event for the good—to put it mildly.

The Christian vision of the world also shaped the debate over the nature of the American Indian. Reports from many of the early explorers, from Columbus on, shocked Europe with news of the existence of men living naked, in a state of nature, or, to put it in Christian terms, in a state of innocence, like that preceding the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden. (On his third voyage, Columbus was convinced that he had approached the actual Garden of Eden, in South America.) Reports of the first explorers that the natives acted with unfeigned generosity, lack of shame, and lack of individualistic greed caused some intellectuals to speculate that corrupt Europe had found a society morally superior to its own. The writings of some sober first-hand observers, reporting actual experiences with individual Indians, should caution us against rejecting the myth in its entirety. It contained *some* truth. Equally, however, some individual Indians acted deceptively, treacherously, or cruelly and were the subject of bitter invectives questioning their humanity and comparing them, not to Greeks and Romans, but to savage animals. Given what we have learned about the warlike nature of life in pre-Columbian Central and South America, no one ought to wish to defend the proposition that the Indians were universally pacific. Indeed, recent archaeological discoveries in Guatemala suggest that massive warfare among Mayan city-states was the cause of the decline and collapse of the Mayan empire between the seventh and tenth centuries. Rightly, the abstraction of the "noble savage" is disparaged in both the Edgerton book and the Josephy book.

In part, the noble-savage myth has lost its earlier attractiveness to disinterested scholars because, through the tendency of left-wing scholarship to simplify and vulgarize complex phenomena, it has been carried to absurd extremes. In the radical perspective, all "Native Americans" (always referred to as if they formed a unified whole) had been living peacefully until their lands were seized and they were brutalized by "Europeans" (seen also as an abstract entity). This pose has been embraced as it has only because Western society is so self-critical and guilt-ridden that it makes no objection to being pummeled from the outside as well as from the inside. Blacks demand reparations from descendants of whites who bought them but not from descendants of blacks who sold them into slavery. Indians demand reparations from the descendants of whites who dispossessed them but do not propose to pay reparations to the descendants of those Indians they earlier dispossessed. While professing to exalt Indian values, these critics fail to realize that they are appealing to uniquely Western values.

Another problem lies in the abstractions—"Indians," "Native Americans," "Europeans"—that presume to characterize *all* those subsumed under such labels. It is one of the strengths of Edgerton's book that he recognizes the importance of the individual in determining the alternative decisions a tribe might make. Indeed, he cites policies and acts of innovative leaders who forced changes in long-standing tribal traditions. Edgerton also speaks of the qualitative differences between one small society and another. In a shocking deviation from anthropological orthodoxy, he calls for "the evaluation of other cultures."

ULTIMATELY, the test of the significance of Columbus's voyage must lie in the direction the world has taken since then. And it has, as seems clear to all, taken the direction of Western ideas and values. Few, even anthropologists, would like to see the Americas returned to the rule of the political and social institutions that prevailed in 1492.

To be sure, the Spanish culture that initially supplanted

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the "Native American" differed in important respects from what we mean today by "Western ideas and values." Although the Bill of Rights exhibition in the U.S. Pavilion in Seville makes every effort to credit Spain and other European countries with the emergence of such guarantees of individual rights, the achievement of democracy in the New World is more heavily dependent upon an English tradition that emerged after the establishment of Spain's hegemony in much of the New World and in many respects in opposition to it. Only now, five hundred years after Columbus, has that democratic philosophy achieved almost universal acceptance in Latin America, long dominated by the more centralized, hierarchical political structure left by an imperial Spain.

Economically, Latin America inherited the mercantilist and protectionist traditions of its Iberian founders as politically it inherited hierarchical and autocratic traditions. The influence of Adam Smith, who helped the English-speaking nations throw off their mercantilist shackles, is only now being strongly felt in Latin American countries. And yet it may be argued that the triumph of Western democratic values in 1992 is itself a validation of Spain's sponsorship of Columbus in 1492. It was, one might say, the arrival of Spain that introduced the European tradition in the Americas, thus allowing the later implantation of English politics and economics. Today we can find interpreters such as Hernando de Soto and Roberto Campos arguing for the ideas of Adam Smith in Peru and Brazil, if not always with success.

In asserting that the direction of history vindicates the globalization of European values, one faces the peculiar opposition of a powerful force of Western intellectuals who see Western civilization as the principal source of evil in the world and Columbus as the agent of the propagation of that evil. This view is reflected in books such as *America in 1492* and Kirkpatrick Sale's *The Conquest of Paradise: Christopher Columbus and the Columbian Legacy* (1990). With the collapse of Communism, anti-Western ideology rests increasingly on ecological ("green") values, feminism (with its emphasis on the important role of clan mothers in Iroquois society, for example), and animal rights. Sale even goes so far as to say that "it is not fanciful to see *warring against species* as Europe's preoccupation as a culture." These critics of Europe normally choose to overlook the anti-ecological, anti-feminist, anti-animal-rights, anti-human-rights (in fact, cannibal) character of most of the societies they hold up as models to be emulated.

A word needs to be said about an indirect result of Columbus's voyage, one related to what Columbus intended but did not himself achieve: the meeting of East and West. To reach Japan and China was the aim of Columbus's "great enterprise." While it is true that he continued to assert that he had reached Asia, he well knew that he had not arrived at the fabled kingdoms of Japan or China. Rather, the lands he reached seemed more like the thousands of islands that Marco Polo had described as lying off Asia, and that the Catalan Atlas of 1375 had depicted as filled with naked men and even cannibals. But, in fact, although he was not to be the personal agent of the meeting of East and West, his discovery of the new world lying between Europe and Asia gave added incentive to Spain, as well as to Portugal and other European nations, to reach the desired goal. That object was achieved by the Portuguese—in the case of China, in 1517 (reopening a link that had essentially ended with the departure of Marco Polo), and, in the case of Japan (which had never been visited by Europeans), in 1542 or 1543.

The actual "discovery" of these great nations by the Europeans was more influential in changing the culture of Europe than the discovery of America. While America was yielding its treasure and labor to the Europeans, Asia was altering Europe's mind. Not only were the natural sciences revolutionized, but the science of man (anthropology) developed as a way of attempting to explain the differences encountered by the Europeans in both America and Asia. Because the initiative for discovery came from the West and not from the East, the differences between Europe, America, and Asia were more sharply etched on the European mind than on the Asian mind and led to a rich intel-

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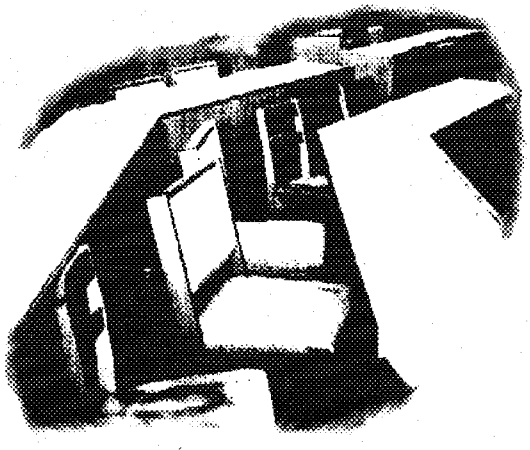

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lectual harvest of theories such as evolution, cultural relativism, and even Marxism and economic determinism. Both America and Asia were relatively stagnant, being more wedded to their traditions than was the West, which found the novelty of other climes and other cultures stimulating. While the Western mind did not always move in directions that we would now applaud, it moved—indeed, darted here and there—as the Asian mind too often did not. The Left's current affair with "multiculturalism" derives its ultimate authority precisely from the expansion of Europe and the scholarly if not always respectful study of non-Western civilizations by Europeans.

WERE, THEN, the American societies uncovered by European explorers "sick societies," to use Edgerton's term, or were they "worthy societies," as Momaday suggests in *America in 1492*? Momaday and his colleagues ignore the dark side of the cultures they celebrate; Edgerton ignores the bright side, with the exception of the Yahi tribe of his native California. Edgerton is right to assert that the folkways of many small traditional societies are neither as adaptive nor as harmonious as many of his anthropological colleagues would like to believe. Scholars must be more willing to evaluate—which is to say, judge—the societies they study.

We are still too much enmeshed in the debate precipitated by Columbus's voyage to be able to reach a consensus on the values of our own society or on the values of "the other." *America in 1492*, all too predictably, seeks to indict rather than to understand "Western European ethnocentricity," which Columbus is accused of introducing into the New World. As Alvin Josephy puts it in his introduction: "Asserting the superiority of the white aggrandizers' religious, political, and social universe over those of each of the many different indigenous peoples from the Arctic to Tierra del Fuego at the southern tip of South America, this ethnocentricity was an arrogant vice, backed by superior firepower and boundless gall, that never faltered or weakened." "It continues," Josephy goes on to say, "unabashedly on both continents today." The theme is even more forcefully stated by Vine Deloria Jr. Deloria, a spokesman for American Indians, reflects in his Afterword on the collapse of Communism and the apparent triumph of American values. His interpretation is, simply, bizarre. He asserts that "Nazism can be regarded as the true response of Europe to its declining role in the world: the *Lebensraum* of the National Socialists was simply Russian and American imperialism written in the small space of Central Europe." Deloria sees signs, as in the emergence of the animal-rights movement, that "we may be facing a future in which the basic tenets of the Indian view of life become the central themes of our society."

What these animadversions have to do with the state of Indian society in 1492—the subject of the book in which they appear—may be questioned. The reason they are there is that, as with other ethnic groups, some American Indians have redefined their relationship with American society in terms of a continuing war, a war which, despite initial defeats, they believe they are in the process of winning. What might be the outcome of such a successful struggle? "If the universities were controlled by the Indians," Deloria writes, "we would have an entirely different explanation of the peopling of the New World, and it would be just as respectable for the scholarly establishment to support it." Deloria's remark occurs in a passage rejecting what he calls the "scholarly Bering Strait fiction." This is the theory, accepted by almost all scholars, that the ancestors of the American Indians migrated to the New World across the Bering Straits during one of the periods when it formed a land bridge to Asia. But Deloria's underlying assumption—that truth is entirely a reflection of one's ethnic loyalties—cannot be accepted by anyone who values disinterested scholarship. One shudders to think what other hypotheses would have to be revised if Indians "controlled" the universities.

So although we should welcome the renewed attention to our native past stimulated by the quincentennial, we should not ignore the ethnocentrism of native societies while belaboring that of European societies. Nor should we ignore the dark side of Indian societies while throwing a searchlight on the dark side of our European ancestors. Americans, whatever their origin, need not apologize for inheriting the past. □

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Homeless on the Range

RICHARD VIGILANTE

HERE IS homeless advocate Mitch Snyder, during a 1984 appearance on *Nightline*, explaining how he came up with his estimate that between two and three million Americans were homeless, a number that would go on to become media gospel and is still cited today: "Everybody demanded it, everybody said we want a number. . . . We got on the phone, made lots of calls, we talked to lots of people, and we said, 'Okay, here are some numbers.' They have no meaning, no value."

Rude Awakenings: What the Homeless Crisis Tells Us, by Richard W. White Jr. (ICS Press, 333 pp., $24.95)

As Richard W. White Jr. tells the story in *Rude Awakenings: What the Homeless Crisis Tells Us*, Ted Koppel did not even "raise an eyebrow" at Snyder's stunning confession. The Department of Housing and Urban Development had just released the results of an exacting study which concluded that the true number of homeless was between 250,000 and 350,000, or about one-tenth of Mitch Snyder's estimate. Yet Koppel's skepticism, like that of almost every other mainstream commentator, was reserved exclusively for the HUD study. As White reminds us, one *Washington Post* writer commented that "HUD took 'such a political beating' over the report 'that the Federal Government appears to have given up trying to define the problem.'"

Throughout the 1980s Snyder's figure was refuted again and again by serious social scientists of varying political views; most came up with figures similar to HUD's, though an Urban Institute study funded by the Department of Agriculture (why the Department of Agriculture?) came up with a maximum of 600,000. Never mind: as long as homelessness remained a hot topic the three-million figure was ritually used in almost every discussion.

One of the most persuasive refutations of the advocates' figures was made by Peter Rossi, a University of Massachusetts sociologist who describes his politics as "a fairly bold pink." Rossi was shocked by "the upsurge of debilitated street people wandering aimlessly across the urban landscape" and decided to find out how many there were. He did an exacting block-by-block survey of Chicago, where the advocates had claimed there were 25,000 homeless on the streets. Rossi found 2,344; like the nationwide HUD numbers, his Chicago figure was about 10 per cent of what the advocates claimed. He became the target of vicious personal attacks from the advocates and their allies in the "caring" professions (and of course in the caring consultancies). Stung by their criticism, Rossi refined his technique and did a recount. He came up with 2,020 and became, in his words, "a non-person." In 1989 Rossi wrote a book on homelessness; in the foreword, his editor remarked on the urgency of the problem by pointing out that there were three million homeless Americans.

For White the persistence of the three-million figure is an example of the phenomenon he calls "lying for justice": the inflation of a social problem into a social crisis by those who believe mere problems cannot get the attention of the public, the press, or the politicians. For homeless advocates, the three-million figure was the keystone of deception that held an entire structure of lies in place. Such a large figure was crucial to the claim that homelessness was a result of Reaganomics or housing policy, and that many of the homeless had until recently been members of ordinary working-class families. Three million was too large a figure to be filled up by the people White shows make up the ranks of the homeless: drunks, lunatics, drug addicts, and other unsocialized people who, in White's telling phrase, "fell through the bottom of the underclass."

In *Rude Awakenings*, White provides the single best assemblage of the evidence on this hoax. For instance, drawing on the work of scholars such as economists Randall Filer and Mar-

Mr. Vigilante, the editorial director of the Center for Social Thought, is writing a book about the New York Daily News *strike and the future of American labor.*

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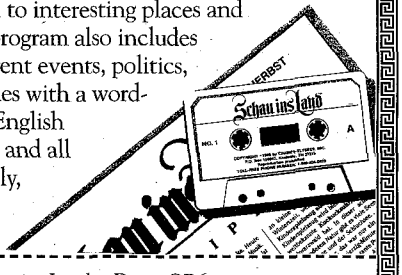

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jorie Honig, he shows that there are virtually no homeless *families* in major cities, if by homeless we mean people who live or have lived on the street. Most homeless families (nearly all of them female-headed) are homeless only by bureaucratic designation: they live in temporary residences called shelters. But these families, far from having fallen through the cracks of the social-welfare system, are well within its grasp. Most are waiting for permanent housing; in New York, which accounts for a disproportionate number of homeless families, many declared themselves homeless and moved voluntarily into the shelters in order to jump to the head of the waiting list for public housing.

Even after it became well established that most of the homeless were crazy, stoned, or drunk, the advocates and their allies in the press clung to the oft-cited datum that about one-third of the homeless were in "economic or personal crisis." Surely here were Reagan's victims. But no, the economic and personal crises in question were often the result of the behavior of the victims or those close to them: domestic violence, divorce, or a lack of socialization that caused them to have a high propensity to getting fired or evicted and no friends or families willing to help when they did.

White is more than a debunker. His profile of the homeless population is subtle and well grounded in experience. He offers a nuanced and mostly persuasive analysis of the real homeless problem, including a chapter showing that housing policy is part of the problem, though not in the way usually assumed.

For White, homelessness is a product of "modernity," and "the more modern we allow ourselves to become the more homelessness we will have." White is no dreamy reactionary. By modern he means something quite specific: the attempt through social-science research to account for human behavior in rationalizable and reductive categories, and then to enforce these rationalizations on human life through government policy.

The housing component of the problem is a perfect illustration. The zoners and planners in their heyday were relentlessly hostile to the "ecology" of skid row, in part because most skid rows were located in non-residential, often industrial areas and the plan-

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ners were outraged by the "irrationality" of such "mixed-use" neighborhoods; and in part because skid rows were untidy and unpleasant, and seemed disorderly. As White and others have shown, however, the skid rows, now mostly eradicated by urban renewal and restrictive zoning, had an internal order well adapted to their residents' needs. They were near industrial areas because few others wanted to live there, which made them cheap, and because that made day labor more readily available. Skid-row residences, called flop houses when it was part of nearly every city's policy to eradicate them, are called SROs (single-room-occupancy buildings) now that cities are trying desperately to hold on to them. These places charged rates that a bit of day labor or panhandling could cover, and were far safer and more pleasant than most public shelters. Being privately run, they had rules, where public shelters have only rights.

Skid rows were neighborhoods—that is, more or less voluntarily formed social units with not only genuine if informal rules but genuine affections and social-support systems. As White writes, "nine out of ten Chicago SRO residents report they are satisfied with their living arrangements. Almost as many know the managers or desk clerks personally. . . . Staff take messages, distribute mail, screen visitors." Saloons (free meal with drink) "are social centers, and second-hand stores and pawnshops are important economic supports."

Skid rows were not wonderful places to live, but they were somewhat better for those who lived there than public shelters and much better than the street. And they performed the crucial task of isolating the disordered permanently poor from the aspiring, orderly working poor.

White, who gives little hint of his own politics, is part of a growing number of social thinkers, left and right, who find the core explanation of our social decay in the relentless expansion of government-guaranteed rights and a corresponding erosion in responsibility. For White, homelessness has increased because the social pathologies that created the underclass continue to spiral out of control. The solution to the homeless problem, other than reinstitutionalizing the severely

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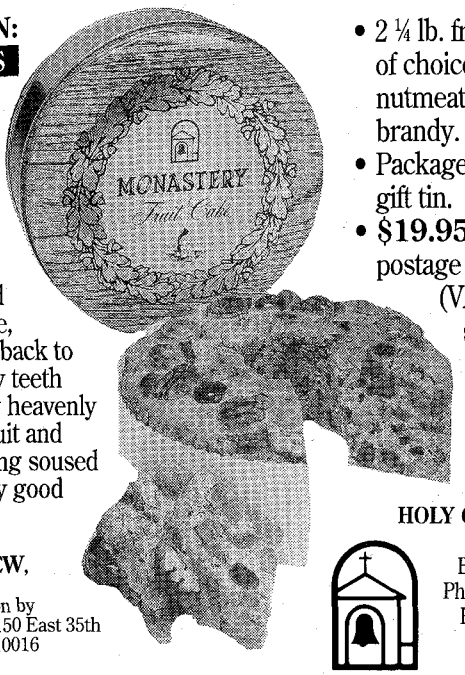

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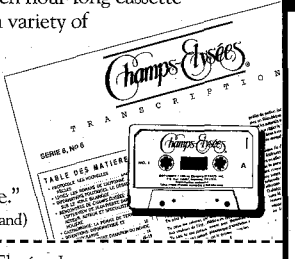

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mentally ill, is to change the social policies that encourage those pathologies. For that reason White sees hope in the emerging consensus to, e.g., replace the welfare system with one that requires recipients to work.

On such questions, I try to be an optimist. But as Cooper Union professor Fred Siegal has pointed out, the real news is not that a few thinkers have woken up to the need to hold people responsible for their own behavior, but the general culture's continued remorseless sentimentalizing of the plight of self-identified or politically designated victims.

It is easy to say we are going to start holding people responsible, but doing so means letting people damn themselves if they will. To say "those who will not work shall not eat," and mean it, requires extraordinary moral and perhaps even religious self-confidence. Are we up to it? □

FILM

From Schrader to Schroeder

JOHN SIMON

PRETENTIOUSNESS may not be the deadliest sin in a filmmaker, but neither is it venial. Paul Schrader, to judge by his films and writings, could not have laughed at himself more than a couple of times in his life. The product of a Midwestern Calvinist upbringing, Schrader seems to have been at equal pains to live it down and cash in on it. Accordingly, he came to the fore with *Transcendental Style*, his film-school thesis on Ozu, Bresson, and Dreyer, which made for a short book in a very grand manner; its index reads like something out of *The Bluffer's Guide to Total Erudition.*

In the French manner, Schrader began as a writer on film and progressed to filmmaking, first as a scenarist, then as a director. As a screenwriter, he is best known for *Taxi Driver* and *Raging Bull* for Martin Scorsese, and *Obsession* for Brian De Palma. But I wonder how many of the films he directed and, usually, wrote ring a bell in a non-buff's memory: *Blue Collar, Hardcore, American Gigolo, Cat People* (the remake), *Mishima*, and *Patty Hearst* (the last-named from a screenplay by Nick Kazan)? Among filmdom's snobs, however, Schrader is a big name.

Such snobs may be undeterred even by his latest, and possibly trashiest, film, ***Light Sleeper***, which Schrader claims was inspired by his coming upon the New Testament's "Behold, I show you a mystery: we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed." I haven't the foggiest notion what bearing this has on the movie, and would be mightily surprised if Schrader had. The film concerns a kind of *via crucis* of its hero, John LeTour, a forty-year-old drug deliverer for Ann, a fancy uptown–New York dealer of such sophistication that when she orders in food, it is not Chinese but Thai.

When it comes to sophistication, LeTour is no piker either. Wearing Armani and driven to his clients in a limousine, he keeps an existentialist-metaphysical journal in notebooks that he discards as soon as they are filled (this bit is too deep for me, but never mind) and acts as a confessor and counselor to his clients—withholding excess dope here, phoning an overdoser's brother to recommend a rehab clinic there. Our therapeutic pusher has been clean for some time now, but finds himself in a mid-life crisis that includes being hassled by a cop almost young enough to be his son, and uncertainty about what to do when Ann switches to herbal cosmetics now that cocaine, a classy drug, is being driven out—such is the power of Gresham's Law—by (to quote the press kit) its "far more pernicious derivative, crack."

Light Sleeper is a trifle cavalier about motivation, e.g., why a drug pusher stylish enough to wear Armani would live in a burrow unfit for an armadillo. Or why, cerebral as he is, he would need to keep consulting a psychic—unless the fact that the latter is played by the director's wife (Mary Beth Hurt) is considered sufficient explanation. Anyhow, one of those happy coincidences that seem to exist even in a Calvinist universe reunites LeTour with Marianne, the lost love with whom he once lived out a passionately consuming albeit drug-addled love affair. On a rainy and taxiless night, he is able to offer her a ride home in his limo, and promptly tries to implement his rekindled passion. But Marianne, whose shaking the drug is recent and precarious, and whose mother is dying in St. Luke's Hospital, doubts the sincerity of his regeneration. Nevertheless, she weakens.

As usual with Schrader, dark moods and lurking evil pre-empt psychological credibility and sound dramatic structure. Neither Marianne's being driven over the edge (in more ways than one) nor LeTour's redemption carries much conviction. On the other hand, New York's rain-tormented nocturnal pavements are scrutinized with unparalleled doggedness and a Steadicam, and the growing piles of black garbage bags (we're in the midst of a sanitation workers' strike) suggest something midway between Babel and Armageddon. John and Marianne make love in front of an enormous photomural of Vermeer's Lacemaker: if this is, as rumored, an actual suite in the Paramount Hotel, prospective hotel guests should think twice; if it is merely an *hommage* to Claude Goretta's incomparably superior film, it's rather self-destructive.

The admirable Susan Sarandon does all she is able to for Ann—plenty, but still not enough. Willem Dafoe, who played Jesus in Schrader and Scorsese's *The Last Temptation of Christ*, delivers cocaine with the same outward impassivity with which he delivered mankind—a boring actor. There are good enough performances from Dana Delany (Marianne) and several others, but any semblance of believability collapses in the final scenes of ludicrous bang-bang mayhem, in which the fevered eschatology of the Calvinist is elbowed out by the febrile violence of the aging adolescent.

What I find particularly odd about this fiasco is that Schrader, for all his vaunted moral philosophy and theological awareness, does not for a moment stop to wonder whether major drug dealers make suitable heroes and heroines. At no point does he even hint that large-scale drug-peddling—as opposed to buying—may be an activity that disqualifies the film's principals from our heartfelt empathy.

■ From Schrader to Schroeder: ***Single***

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White Female, directed by Barbet Schroeder, lost its most provocative touch when, for the sake of political correctness, it changed its title from that of John Lutz's potboiler, on which it is based—*SWF Seeks Same*. The reference is to the ad that the heroine, Allison, inserts in the *New York Times* after Sam, her fiancé, who shared her elegant apartment in the Ansonia, is caught cheating on her with his ex-wife. So out of the Ansonia and her life he must go. But because such an ad is considered racist today, the title had to be amended, thus forfeiting the play on words and the moral of the story: too much sameness is a dangerous thing.

Alan Nahigian

Allison sedulously screens all applicants, but in a moment of dejection succumbs to the soothing ways of a particularly congenial-seeming young woman, Hedra, whose credentials she fatally fails to examine. Hedra, whose real name is not Hedra (which may be the only good thing about her), is an unhinged twin, whose sister died in a childhood accident, and who has been desperately seeking a surrogate ever since. In the stylish Allison, who runs her own computer business, the frumpy Hedra finds not only (as she believes) the lost sister soul, but also a role model to save her from mediocrity.

With tenacity, cunning, and carefully disguised pathological monomania, Hedy sets about alienating Allie from the now repentant Sam, as well as from anyone and anything else that might lessen her prey's dependence on her. When she forces upon Allie a too-too adorable puppy as a Sam-substitute, we know that neither Allie nor Hedy—and least of all the puppy—will safely survive such tyrannical solicitude. Still, despite a paradoxical combination of improbability and predictability, the first half of the film is, as they say, eminently watchable, largely because of the great good looks of Bridget Fonda (Allie) and the impressive talent of Jennifer Jason Leigh (Hedy) who, in film after questionable film, proves herself an inexhaustibly various and persuasive actress.

But if *Single White Female* were anything but boilerplate, it would concentrate on developing the psychological drama: Hedy's parasitic taking over of another person's life to the extent of changing herself and the other into mirror images, and the damage this does to all and sundry, emotionally and morally. Instead, the movie turns into something much more commercial and superficial, a cat-and-mouse—or perhaps cat-and-cat—thriller, where nothing is shied back from, not even the bringing back to life of a manifestly dead man for the sake of dishonest chills, followed by the unceremonious dumping of that Lazarus merely because the plot no longer requires him.

Starting with an initially interesting proposition—that the Ansonia being rent-controlled, only one name can appear on the lease, which makes Hedy an invisible person with all the disadvantages and sinister advantages of that status—the film rapidly propels itself into improbabilities and impossibilities that queer its standing even within its second-rate genre. There are goings-on such as would be unheard of in a respectable apartment house like the Ansonia, once the home of Schoenberg and still the place of which many distinguished musicians proudly say, "Et in Ansonia ego."

Barbet Schroeder, however, is a director neither unwitty nor unskilled, and the film has its clever and erotically compelling touches. One sequence, in fact, goes from the mildly pornographic to the stunningly fantastic, and once again establishes him as the connoisseur of the bizarre and perverse we remember from such films as *Maîtresse* and *Idi Amin Baba*. But to revert to his best, Schroeder should return to France, assuming that its cin-

Mr. Simon, NR's film critic, is also theater critic for New York *magazine.*

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ema has not yet become wholly Americanized.

■ Christian Vincent's ***La Discrète*** does indeed take us to France and to filmmaking as pretentious as it is inane, a balloon blown up with pseudo-significance. An insufferable young man, Antoine, is thrown over all too deservedly by his girlfriend (he was about to dump her himself), and is in a tizzy. His friend and mentor, the creepy Jean, an older man who is a rare-book dealer and minor publisher, persuades him to avenge himself on the entire female sex by seducing an innocent young woman, then ruthlessly ditching her and crowning her humiliation by having Jean publish Antoine's seducer's diary in book form.

Two things should be obvious even from this thumbnail summary: 1) that the story is an inept ripoff of Choderlos de Laclos's great novel *Les Liaisons dangereuses* (forget the worthless stage and screen adaptations), and 2) that, as conceived and executed, it makes no sense whatever. In the novel, we had two bottomlessly amoral but irresistibly glamorous seducers, a man and a woman waging war on human decency by means of a game that is partly a cover for their mutual attraction, which they are too proud and contrary to own up to. Here, however, we have the Antoine–Jean team presented as platonic friends (though some homosexual–sadistic streak in Jean is obscurely hinted at), and their pact has no more psychological credibility than the film has artistic insight and interest.

It is both tasteless and tedious, with palaver about Tristan Bernard, Restif de la Bretonne, and the eighteenth-century language of appliquéd beauty marks merely serving as window dressing to conceal lack of true invention and craft. The only interesting thing about *La Discrète* is the overwhelming critical and box-office success of this piece of odious claptrap in France. As the title of a former Paris boulevard hit—itself an adaptation of a failed Broadway farce—had it, *Pauvre France.* □

TELEVISION

Grave Robbery on HBO

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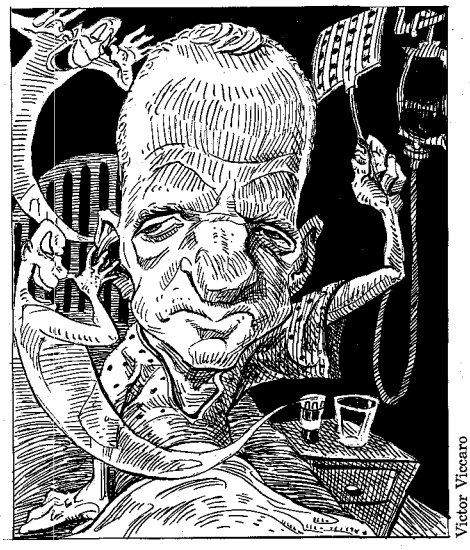
LOUIS ARMSTRONG woke Jack Teagarden late one afternoon in the long ago with the news that one of the cats in the band had suddenly met his Maker. "What was wrong with him?" Teagarden asked.

"Hey, Pops," Louis said. "When you die, *everything* was wrong."

On the other hand, ***Citizen Cohn*** gets some of the names right.

Roy Cohn must have had an irrevocable marker on the producers of this HBO version of his life. How else can we explain the critical revulsion that greeted the premiere of this movie which makes him out to be what most people in the media thought he was, namely a rat bastard? It is a delicious thought, you must admit, and anyway it is the only delicious thing about this sub-moronic film that somehow manages to turn Roy M. Cohn into the one thing even his worst enemies knew he was not: a roaring bore.



Victor Viccaro

They put him out here as the Devil Incarnate. But out of what Scripture did the producers divine a devil without allure? Eve wouldn't have taken a dry martini from a jerk like this. And even if Adam was gay . . .

Ooooo, baby, do these otherwise PC kids do a number on Roy Cohn. They open with him as a momma's boy in a fancy restaurant and then—fast forward—there he is, writhing on his death bed, sick with AIDS. What Bobby Kennedy couldn't do to him, or Robert Morgenthau, the good Lord does with HIV. And yet, I suspect that if you took Executive Producer Linda Gottlieb outside, she would give up her soap-opera income before she would confess that she was guilty of "gay-bashing."

As you can see, it is almost impossible for me to get serious about this thing. But there are the children to consider, by which I mean to include everyone from MTV viewers to the Clinton–Gore–Quayle generation. I can't just sit around and let the kids even consider that if Roy Cohn had never been born, the cold war would not have happened, nor McCarthyism; that except for Roy Cohn daisies would be pushing up through the mean concrete streets of America. This is the message of *Citizen Cohn.*

But the truth is, Roy Cohn was a legitimate child of the Truman Democracy. Let Roy tell it himself, as he told it to me in *The Autobiography of Roy Cohn*:

> I know this will shock most people, including many who were there when it all happened, when the Truman Administration led the war against domestic and international Communism. In 1947, long before anyone heard of Joe McCarthy, Truman instituted by executive order the first loyalty–security program in United States history, opening every government employee to an FBI probe of his Americanism. The Truman Justice Department indicted and convicted the leading lights of the Communist Party, U.S.A., in the Dennis case. The Truman Justice Department indicted and convicted the Communist spy Judith Coplon. The Truman Justice Department indicted and convicted Alger Hiss, and then William Remington, and then Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.
>
> All these cases were tried before Democratic judges by Democratic prosecutors and, except for Coplon, all were upheld on appeal by the United States Supreme Court, whose members included only one Republican—Harold Burton, a Truman appointee.

As a 21-year-old Assistant U.S. Attorney, Cohn was the favored lunch guest of some of the most liberal judges in the country, even as he was

Mr. Zion is the author of a novel, Markers, *and is a columnist for the* New York Observer.

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working on the Hiss and Rosenberg cases. This had to do with his family connections. His father had been Boss Flynn's chief lieutenant, and Flynn put Harry Truman on Roosevelt's ticket in 1944. *Citizen Cohn* depicts Al Cohn as a liberal judge who recognized that Roy was a bad seed and spent the rest of his life (and afterlife: ghosts are all over Roy's deathbed in this movie) bearing the cross of his monster boy. It's all pure fantasy. The only thing Al Cohn did that his friends in the Democratic establishment didn't do was stick with Roy when Roy joined the McCarthy committee. The rest, or most of them, dropped out for the very logical reason that Joe McCarthy was blaming the Democrats for "twenty years of treason."

The only time I saw Cohn look pensive was when he told me that Jerome Frank "cooled" him after he hooked up with McCarthy. What surprised me was that a liberal icon like Jerry Frank would have had anything to do with a guy like Cohn. But that's the point: Until he went with Tailgunner Joe, Roy Cohn was family to the liberal Democrats.

All of this history was available to the producers of *Citizen Cohn*. But why let facts get in the way of liberal fascism? The irony is, they would have been able to paint him blacker by listening to his own words. The Rosenberg case is the stand-out example.

Roy covered up the role of Judge Irving R. Kaufman in this "Crime of the Century." But he later told me, off the record, about the constant backstage dealings he had with Kaufman before, during, and after the trial. When his publisher asked me to help him get his autobiography in shape, I made it a condition that he lay out the truth, and most particularly about Judge Kaufman, for that one I knew already.

This was one chapter that Nicholas von Hoffman, whose biography of Cohn was bought by the TV producers, was never able to lay his hands on. Roy's last lover, Peter Fraser, sold him the original Cohn manuscript, but this chapter I had kept in cold storage. In it, Roy tells how he arranged to get Kaufman the case, how Irving had decided before the trial that Julius Rosenberg would get the death sentence, and how Cohn convinced him to give the chair to Ethel. In the film, we get only a cameo of the trial, just the moment of sentencing. And to make sure that truth does not intrude, the screenwriter calls the judge "Julius J. Kaufman." This name-change gives "inexplicable" an inexplicable new meaning.

Hey, Pops, even Joe McCarthy comes out good here. He's simply a poor lush who's manipulated and finally destroyed by the Jew Cohn. (Oh yes, Roy is portrayed as the ultimate self-hating Jew. I think this is the only lie he would have answered with a law suit.) McCarthy ends up at Roy's death bed with a host of heavenly ghosts led by Ethel Rosenberg and Joseph M. Welch, Joe's old nemesis from the Army–McCarthy hearings.

On the other hand, Julius Rosenberg never makes Roy's death scene. Ethel's in and out of the hospital; she's a tireless *yenta* who keeps asking things such as: "Why did you do it to me, *boychick*?!" Cohn mainly grimaces, but when finally he says, "I killed you for the f---ing headlines," you feel that if the angels were condemned to watch this show they would at this point stand up and cheer.

So why is Julius left out of the ghostly doings? Are the hustlers who arranged this TV lynching saying that he was guilty and Ethel was framed? There are scholars who hold this view, most notably Ronald Radosh, who presented it well in his book *The Rosenberg File*, but it's next to impossible to believe that the producers had such serious thoughts in their noggins. Cohn never doubted their guilt and was certain that Ethel was the more culpable. "She wore the pants," he said.

(My nutshell view of the Rosenberg case: I don't believe the atom-bomb business, but I do think the couple was involved in low-level Russian espionage. I think the trial was a disgrace to due process, that the death penalty was an outrageous punishment, and that the Rosenbergs' lawyer, Manny Bloch, helped convict them. The way he defended them, the jury *had* to find them guilty.)

But the real Roy Cohn has about as much to do with this movie as the guy who hooked up your cable. Surely, Roy Cohn as a piece of work isn't here—the Roy Cohn who is missed today by everybody out there trying to get a wire in, wanting something done nobody else could get done. Politicians, judges, lawyers, publishers, reporters, colum-

(Continues on page 68)

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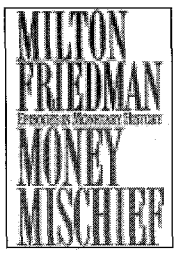

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(Continues on page 68)

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ZION

(Continued from page 65)

nists, wiseguys, tycoons, husbands, wives, mistresses: all those who still wake up in cold sweat or hot ambition, saying, "Wow, do I really miss that sonofabitch right now!"

Instead we get Roy Cohn throwing his mother's ashes in the East River.

And I get a note from his old pal Neil Walsh: "I wonder who the hell we buried when I was at the cemetery as Mrs. Cohn was layed down alongside the judge." We buried a great story. *They* buried, the dear old liberal fascists. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

The Secret History, by Donna Tartt (Knopf, 524 pp., $23)

IT IS SELDOM that a first novel hyped years in advance lives up to public expectations, and reasonable people will be sickened by some of the hype Random House, corporate owner of Knopf, has arranged for this particular first novel: notably the profile of Miss Tartt in the current *Vanity Fair* (owned by S. I. Newhouse, who owns Random House), which sets a new in-house record for delirious sycophancy. That said, *The Secret History* can be compared to some of the better literary suspense novels of recent years. Miss Tartt has borrowed a plot from Henry James's *The Ambassadors*, and added the sort of intricate suspense you'd hope for from Scott Turow. In the James novel, a provincial courtier from a small New England town, on an errand to Europe, falls under the spell of a group of aesthetes and their role model. The action here is switched to a college in Vermont where Richard Papen, a provincial student from California, falls under the spell of a group of arrogant classics majors and their role model, an eccentric professor. But there's a sinister and delectable twist: Miss Tartt's aesthetes suffer from moral decay of a very modern kind, and Papen must help cover up a murder after a frenzied re-enactment of a Greek cultic ritual. With its gothic atmosphere and classical pagan references, *The Secret History* makes for irresistible reading. —DAVID BRANYAN

The Critics Bear It Away: American Fiction and the Academy, by Frederick Crews (Random House, 211 pp., $20)

FREDERICK CREWS, professor of English at Berkeley and author of *The Pooh Perplex*, writes essays for *The New York Review of Books* in which he attacks literary theory from a vantage point "as far as possible from great-thoughts conservatism on one side and death-of-the-author theory on the other." Crews is deeply hostile to the "calculatedly progressive pap" of today's ultra-politicized academic criticism, and *The Critics Bear It Away*—a collection of articles on Hawthorne, Twain, Hemingway, Faulkner, John Updike, Flannery O'Connor, and their "theory-saturated" commentators—is a powerful assault on the enemy: "As this movement increases its sway, 'implicating' more and more authors in its indictment of the past for falling short of egalitarian rectitude, we can begin to feel like viewers of *Invasion of the Body Snatchers*, wondering which literary figure will be the next to be replaced by a hollow automaton." At the same time, Crews is no friend of such "cultural nostalgics" as William Bennett, Allan Bloom, Lynne Cheney, and Roger Kimball, at whom he directs a few gratuitously nasty ad-hominem cracks in his introduction. If he thinks this nervous nod to orthodoxy will keep the wolves of political correctness from his own office door, he may be in for a surprise. Skip the introduction, but read the book. —TERRY TEACHOUT

Marilyn: The Last Take, by Peter Harry Brown and Patte B. Barham (Dutton, 452 pp., $23)

HOW did the still-gorgeous 36-year-old Marilyn Monroe end up nude and dead in her Brentwood bedroom in August 1962? Was she, as this best-selling book would have us believe, murdered by agents of Bobby Kennedy intending to cover up her affair with him and to ensure that she wouldn't tell anyone about the Kennedy Administration plot to murder Fidel Castro? Thirty years and over one hundred books later, writers are still out there interviewing anyone with an opinion on the subject and reading each other's accounts, to the point where the whole story has become so encrusted that we probably will never know the truth. Still, before these authors start dragging out the forensic experts and the autopsy reports, they do spend three hundred or so lively pages on Marilyn's last months, when she feuded with George Cukor, seethed over the royal treatment of rival Elizabeth Taylor on the set of *Cleopatra*, and trysted the night away on Air Force One. It's a sophisticated, unsentimental account of motivations and behavior as well as a window into the old Hollywood—a place of bougainvillea-hung bungalows, picnic lunches out of wicker hampers in Rolls Royces, and Mexican housekeepers with secret agendas.
—STEPHANIE GUTMANN

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TRANS-O-GRAM / Kem Putney

1 G	2 J	3 B	4 I	5 R	6 N		7 E	8 H	9 M	10 D		11 J	12 P	13 T	14 G		15 H
16 O		17 U	18 K	19 F	20 D	21 C	22 A		23 I	24 Q	25 L	26 E	27 B	28 O	29 J	30 M	
31 R	32 G	33 D		34 P	35 O		36 F	37 E	38 H	39 B	40 T		41 I	42 A	43 P	44 L	45 G
46 F	47 S	48 M	49 H		50 K	51 J	52 D	53 B	54 Q	55 F	56 C	57 I	58 O	59 A		60 H	61 N
62 J		63 R	64 E	65 L	66 A		67 G	68 I	69 Q	70 E	71 M		72 O	73 D	74 P	75 R	76 U
	77 G	78 T	79 E	80 L		81 B	82 T	83 N	84 E	85 J		86 P	87 S	88 F		89 B	90 P
91 D	92 N		93 E	94 Q	95 I	96 B	97 L		98 A	99 G		100J	101U	102P	103K		104L
105C		106N	107H	108F	109G		110M	111B		112D	113H	114K		115O	116H	117A	118U
119C		120N	121G	122F	123D	124P	125H	126B	127A	128K	129J	130E	131R		132J	133F	134H
135S		136S	137Q		138J	139L	140B	141U	142C		143U	144I		145Q	146M		147U
148L	149G		150R	151I	152T	153D	154E	155N	156A	157F	158M	159H					

DEFINITIONS

A. Okie's bane (2 words) — 66 117 59 22 156 42 98 127

B. Like First World nations — 39 96 53 126 111 3 140 27 81 89

C. Utter confusion — 21 119 56 105 142

D. Former name of an Ohio university (2 words) — 153 20 52 123 91 112 73 33 10

E. Subject of Gen. 5:27 — 26 70 93 7 84 79 154 130 64 37

F. Lovely Greek goddess — 108 19 133 122 157 55 46 36 88

G. Make young again — 109 149 77 32 1 99 67 121 45 14

H. John Wayne played a flying one — 49 107 8 15 113 134 116 60 38 125 159

I. Reverse — 151 41 23 68 144 95 57 4

J. Sentinel's post — 137 51 62 11 138 85 2 100 29 129

K. Precise — 114 18 128 50 103

L. Absolute — 25 139 104 65 44 97 148 80

M. Yugoslav city on the Danube (2 words) — 146 158 9 110 30 48 71

N. Rhetorical ambush — 120 61 155 6 106 83 92

O. Type of printing — 16 35 72 28 58 115

P. Venue — 43 34 74 90 86 124 12 102

Q. River in Asian Russia — 145 24 137 54 69 94

R. Winner's reward — 75 5 31 150 63 131

S. Unit of measure — 136 135 47 87

T. Ort — 152 40 78 13 82

U. Law — 76 141 101 147 143 118 17

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram. DONALD KAUL—*Same Old Song*: Democrats, and particularly liberal Democrats, are a contentious lot. I sometimes think they actually prefer losing presidential elections because being out of office makes it easier to retain one's purity of purpose.

For a 34-puzzle collection of Trans-O-Gram, send $5.95 (plus $1 S&H) to: T-Gram Plus, 3279 Lake Powell, Williamsburg, Virginia 23185.

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See-No-God?

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 2

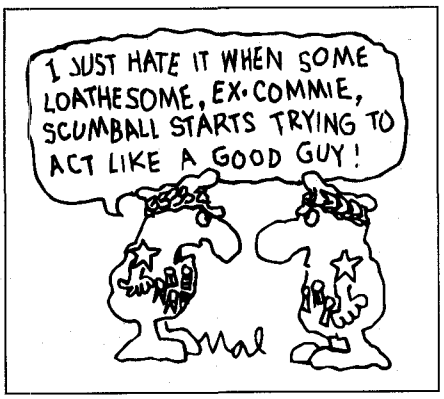
The business about coopting God as a Republican brings a smile; or should do so. Especially when the rebuke that attracts the most attention comes in from the National Council of Churches. It isn't all that surprising, come to think of it, that the Council should be shocked by the reference to God. Some observers of its declarations over the years would be shocked to hear "God" mentioned by the Council, whose concerns are overwhelmingly secular. Its position reduces to: If the National Council of Churches doesn't mention God, candidates for the Presidency have no right to mention God.

And then the Council's letter takes one or two strange positions. "We believe it is blasphemy to invoke the infinite and holy God to assert the moral superiority of one people over another, or one political party over another." What? God's bodkin! We are not talking about whether God is on the side of a higher or a lower minimum wage. Was it indeed blasphemous for the abolitionist parties to claim God's sanction for their cause against slavery? If the Soviet empire was evil, as Ronald Reagan finally persuaded Gorbachev et al. to agree, by what standards was that evil judged to be so, if not God's? Professor B. F. Skinner's?

"As our Pledge of Allegiance affirms," the Council went on, "we are 'one nation, under God.' Not 'over' God or in any other way owning God." Surely nobody at Houston superordinated the GOP over God? If so, the networks weren't watching, nor the press. "Any partisan use of God's name tends to breed intolerance and to divide." It is the business of politics to cultivate intolerance—of those ideas deemed hurtful to the Republic. Is it wrong to ask for intolerance of those who are indifferent to the epidemic of AIDS? Or to poverty? Or to discrimination? If the Republican and the Democratic Parties are not engaged in trying to divide the American people, they are not doing their duty.

The specific offense, one gathers, was the line by President Bush in which he called attention to the word missing from the whole of the Democratic platform, namely: God. Practically all thought on the matter is stillborn because of our superstition that separation of church and state requires us to ignore God in the formulation of policy. But 85 per cent of the American people believe in God, and so we naturally wonder in what direction God would move us, when dealing with public questions that have a moral dimension. On the question of abortion, for instance, what is "right" is of major concern. A century ago the fight against slavery became (finally) a palpably Christian mandate. And in our own century, we most confidently asserted that God could not consider as equal a government whose primary philosophical commitment was the rejection of God and, in his Non-name, the rejection of any notion that we are created in his image, and are therefore equal and born to be free.

It is plain that the Democratic Party endorses that construction of the First Amendment that tells us that it is unconstitutional not only to permit common prayer in the public schools, but—witness the recent decision of the Supreme Court—to permit a rabbi to pronounce a blessing at a commencement ceremony. Those who believe that public education oughtn't to be hampered by a dogmatic see-no-God hear-no-God secularism have every right to denounce the reasoning of the Supreme Court that treats the Founding Fathers' thought like silly putty and, in doing so, to call attention to the acquiescence of the other political party to this distortion. Granted, the rhetoric gets pretty heated.



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The Reverend Pat Robertson urged the defeat of an Equal Rights Amendment in Iowa on the grounds that it represents "a socialist, anti-family political movement that encourages women to leave their husbands, kill their children, practice witchcraft, destroy capitalism, and become lesbians." I didn't know the Equal Rights proposal encouraged witchcraft, but to the extent that it is an instrument of a trendy feminism that disdains motherhood as a vocation, it is suitable grist for condemnation by Christian preachers.

Republicans can't, with piety, plead that God is among their constituents. But they can raise the question of the compatibility of certain public policies with what we know of God's will. □

Digging In Against Mexico

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 4

Yet another deleterious effect of the ongoing political campaign is the slowdown on the North American Free Trade Agreement. Last spring President Bush persuaded Congress to extend the Fast-Track legislation indispensable to putting the treaty to bed. Indispensable because under its terms, Congress has ninety days in which to ratify the treaty as signed by Mexico, Canada, and the United States, or refuse to ratify it. If it were subjected to clause-by-clause examination, the narrower concerns of American politics would go to work on it. Congressman Jones, calculating that to lower our tariffs against Mexican merchandise would endanger one tire factory in his district, would seek an exemption for tires—and there very soon would go the whole enchilada.

The President himself speaks rather offhandedly about the treaty, and this is in part because the agents of protectionism are hard at work. Jerry Brown, for instance, who some years ago heartily endorsed a hemispheric trade treaty, now talks darkly about the loss of our sovereignty. The idea is that a supranational authority could in effect repeal structured American sentiment against child labor, environmental abuse, and starvation wages. Some people take this threat very seriously, notwithstanding that already tariff barriers between the United States and Mexico are at a level almost insignificantly low (an average of 5 per cent for U.S. tariffs, an average of 10 per cent for Mexican tariffs). Seldom has an economic experiment been so in-

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candescently vindicated. Mexico has picked itself up from its xenophobic morass, is moving toward genuine democracy; its standard of living has for several years gone up, and our exports to Mexico have more than doubled since 1986. If you count 22,000 new jobs per $1 billion of additional merchandise exported, our increased trade with Mexico has created well over 300,000 U.S. jobs.

But under the terms of the negotiations, we have exactly nine months (i.e., until the expiration of the fast-track deal in June 1993) in which to get on with it. Although Richard Gephardt, the House majority leader, backed the treaty early on, he is seeing in it now all kinds of weaknesses. He wishes, for instance, to raise money to train displaced U.S. workers (hardly a bad idea): but raising money these days is not easy, so he comes forward with a Transfer Tax. The difference between a Transfer Tax and a fresh tariff is—nugatory.

But the principal opposition to NAFTA relies on all the old arguments having to do with the protection of native industries. We need to remind ourselves that although we live in a world with relatively low tariffs, thanks to the ministrations of GATT since the Second World War, it is hardly a world in which we engage in "fair trade." Analyst James Bovard put it this way recently: "Fair trade for us means that Jamaica is allowed to sell the United States 950 gallons of ice cream every year, Mexico 38,292 bras, Poland may ship us 350 tons of alloy tool steel, and Haiti sell us exactly 730 tons of sugar. The United States recently levied an import surtax on rice from Thailand because of a rice subsidy we spotted being given Thai rice-growers by their government. Simultaneously, the United States government was providing a subsidy more than one hundred times larger to American rice-growers."

We enter the picture, in other words, with dirty hands. But enlightened economic opinion correctly seeks melioration. If tariffs are high, then lower them. If they are low, lower them more. The prospective treaty with Mexico, in which Canada would join us, means 360 million people producing $7 trillion in goods—which gives us an important leverage in the looming trade wars in Eastern Europe. It will prove less tempting to discriminate against American goods when to do so would be to provoke at least the northern half of the western hemisphere.

Trade is a tough business, and it is never possible to remove from it every political consideration. But the model should be right up there for all of us to stare at, and to the extent we can give that model flesh and bones, we are better equipped in the decade ahead to handle the Japanese hegemony, and its European counterpart. □

A Fresh Deal For Gays

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 9

The publication of Marvin Liebman's *Coming Out Conservative* triggers reflection on the political aspects of the gay movement, especially in the light of the Measure 9 referendum coming up in Oregon in November.

I need to record (and do so gladly) that Marvin Liebman is one of my oldest and closest friends. For 35 years he was the principal administrative organ behind anti-Communist and anti-socialist organizations, serving them as money-raiser, public-relations counselor, and godfather. Two years ago he wrote a public letter to NATIONAL REVIEW, in which he declared himself a lifelong closet gay, and charged that the conservative movement was threatened by bigots who aimed at sequestration of gays. Mr. Liebman's views were given in an interview last week with the *Village Voice*, from which this excerpt: "The Berlin Wall came down, Communism fell, and the cement wasn't there any more. So the conservative movement had to find another enemy—that's how they operate. They couldn't do Jews, though they would have liked to. They couldn't do blacks—too well organized. So they've focused on homosexuals poisoning society. The rhetoric is almost word for word what they used about the Communists: schools, Hollywood, media elite. Those code words used to mean Jews, but now they also mean gays."

This is overheated hogwash, spoken by someone who is in pain. Still, there is no gainsaying the extraordinary lengths to which some anti-gay militants are ready to go. Measure 9 in Oregon would constitutionally classify homosexuality as "abnormal, wrong, unnatural, and perverse" and allow discrimination against homosexuals, removing all legal protections from them, pronouncing their practices as morally offensive, in a category with "pedophilia, sadism, and masochism." Are Oregonians really prepared to ask the state to codify all mortal sins? If so, why not throw in sloth, and greed? Among other institutional opponents of Measure 9 is the Catholic Church, and it is probably safe to say that it will not be voted into law.

But what impact will such movements have? Marvin Liebman relates in his book that he has not lost a single friend in the conservative movement in virtue of his materialization outside the closet. On the other hand he has indeed become what one rightly designates a "gay activist." And here is a quandary.

What "rights" ought the community in general concede to gays without renouncing the conviction that homosexuality is an aberration? And, a modus vivendi having been reached, will gay activists agree to coexist even though they are assumed to engage in practices thought of as unnatural?

Conservatives should make elementary concessions. These should include professional security for gays, except in those occupations, such as school teachers, in which they are expected to act as role models. The law shouldn't stand in the way of gays who elect to leave their estates to their same-sex companion, denying the right of relatives of the deceased to charge "undue influence" in order to break the testamentary mandate. On the other hand, such companions should not seek identical privileges given to spouses under the Internal Revenue code; nor should they seek acceptance of the kind reserved for matrimonial relations between men and women. Surely common sense and experience call for eliminating the discriminatory provisions that now hypothetically keep gays out of the military (many do not reveal their inclinations, enter the forces, and serve honorably) and out of sensitive agencies (though candidate Clinton says he will rescind these regulations). If America can survive a Commander-in-Chief suffering from first-degree satyriasis, presumably a gay sergeant who obeys military regulations shouldn't endanger the Republic, or even his platoon.

On one point, conservatives can't be persuaded, and ought not to be—namely, on the belief, held by Jews, Christians, and others, that the practice of homosexuality is a violation of an organic moral code. Those in favor of gay rights must guard against a kind of extortionate moral egalitarianism: "If you're in any way opposed to gay practices, you are a bigot." Marvin Liebman's book has much to tell us about the special tortures of the double life to which most irrepressibly gay men and women are confined. But my friend Marvin should know that in order to leave the closet, it is not necessary to walk onto the stage. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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Huggee

INDIA's great tradition of immolation is called suttee. America's is called huggee.

Huggee is a lustless lust for flesh-on-flesh popularized by Jimmy Carter after he was grabbed by Leonid Brezhnev at a treaty signing. Nobody remembers the treaty but everybody remembers the batty, pole-axed grin that came over Mr. Peanut, like an old-maid librarian finally getting a taste of life, as the Russian crushed him in an ursine embrace.

Huggee got an additional boost from the "ethnic awareness" craze of the Carter Seventies, when Americans liberated themselves from what was then known as "our Anglo-Saxon heritage." Sexual restraint had to go, and it did. Now, Anglo-Saxon having metastasized into "white male," the axe has fallen on emotional restraint.

It has just about disappeared. Soon everyone will have hugged everyone else, and then it will be only a matter of time before one of Oprah's guests displays a jar containing a do-it-yourself extrauterine conception, and Oprah hugs the jar.

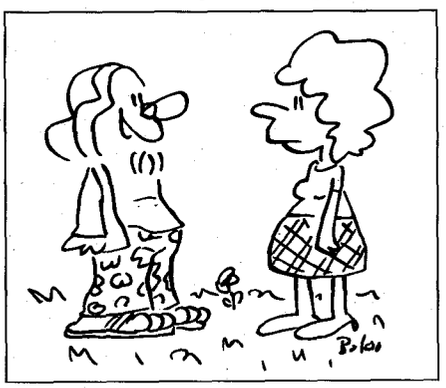
Huggee is a political form of "*pusillanimata*," or "scrupulosity," the spiritual hypochondria of the Middle Ages in which the sufferer was haunted by doubts about the strength of his piety. Americans are haunted by doubts about the strength of our squish. Are we caring enough? Loving enough? Spontaneous enough? Warm 'n' fuzzy enough?

George Bush is photographed with his arm slung around the shoulders of Illinois Governor Jim Edgar, who is holding hands with Mrs. Edgar as the three stroll through the state fair. A female caller on the Larry King show kicks off with, "I love you, Ross," and Perot replies, "I love you, too." Bill Clinton, remarking that he nearly dislocated his shoulder while shaking hands, suddenly realizes that he has registered a complaint and quickly adds: "I think it's important for us to touch as many of the American people as we can."

Of the two political conventions this summer, the Republican Huggee, I regret to say, was the more revolting. Watching it made me feel as if something hot and wet were crawling all over me. I expect Democrats to fling themselves about and emote like peasants because that's what they are, but the spectacle of maudlin Republicans is unbearable in view of the centuries-long conservative tradition of frostiness. Seneca on health care: "Scorn pain; either it will go away or you will." Talleyrand on family values: "A married man will do anything for money." Ambrose Bierce on children's rights: "Study Herod, madam, study Herod." Not a code word in the lot.

Huggee pyres are everywhere. The Weather Channel features a "Pain Index" illustrated by a "respiratory distress map" with different colors for gasping, coughing, and sneezing, as well as a Heat Index and a Wind-Chill Factor to make conditions worse than they are so we'll have yet another excuse to comfort each other with hugs.

Just as the best-laid fires of suttee sometimes fizzle out, the lustless lust of huggee occasionally ignites, as D.C. Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly discovered when Jack Kent Cooke patted her on the behind as they were hugging goodbye after a meeting about relocating the Redskins. As Mrs. Kelly later explained at a press conference, the hug was par for the course. "It was, you know, the way people hug each other," she said with a casual shrug. It was the pat she objected to.



"I got my degree in environmentalism—I graduated Magna cum Luddite."

If for some reason you can't hug, you can do the next best thing and slap high-fives. This congratulatory fleshly contact, which started as a light tap between athletes who didn't have time for a formal handshake, has become strangely intense lately. Even in once-staid golf, players rear back like dinosaurs and slam their palms together in a horrendous crash, as if compelled to establish their bona fides as red-blooded touchers.

It's even worse in baseball; a few years ago a player sprained a finger this way and ended up on the DL. Slapping high fives is now a tedious, touchy-feely ritual involving the whole dugout—not just for homers, but for routine things like tagging up and scoring from third after a fly. For that matter, the fan in the stands who catches a foul slaps high-fives with every other fan within reach. Should he miss and accidentally slam somebody in the face, as I saw happen once, he can tell himself that an unconscious stranger is a friend you haven't hugged yet, and fall to.

HUGGEE is but one aspect of a larger trend toward unrestrained behavior, which is why the orgasmic grunts of players in televised tennis matches are deliberately amplified: like "*La Donna è mobile*" in *Rigoletto*, it's "the good part."

Familiarity breeds democracy, so the crowning glory of huggee is the indiscriminate *tutoyer* adopted during the French Revolution, when the formal *vous* was banned in favor of *tu*. English has an intimate form of "you," but most Americans are unaware of the grammatical connotations of "thee" and "thou." Let us pray that they don't figure it out.

Meanwhile, you're nobody till somebody hugs you—so I'm worried. Suppose I, a spinster and an only child, decided to go into politics? Who would hug me? Mr. Buckley? Mr. O'Sullivan? Not on your tintype. That's what I like about this magazine: Nobody ever says a word about "the NATIONAL REVIEW family."

—FLORENCE KING

Miss King's latest book is With Charity Toward None *(St. Martin's Press).*

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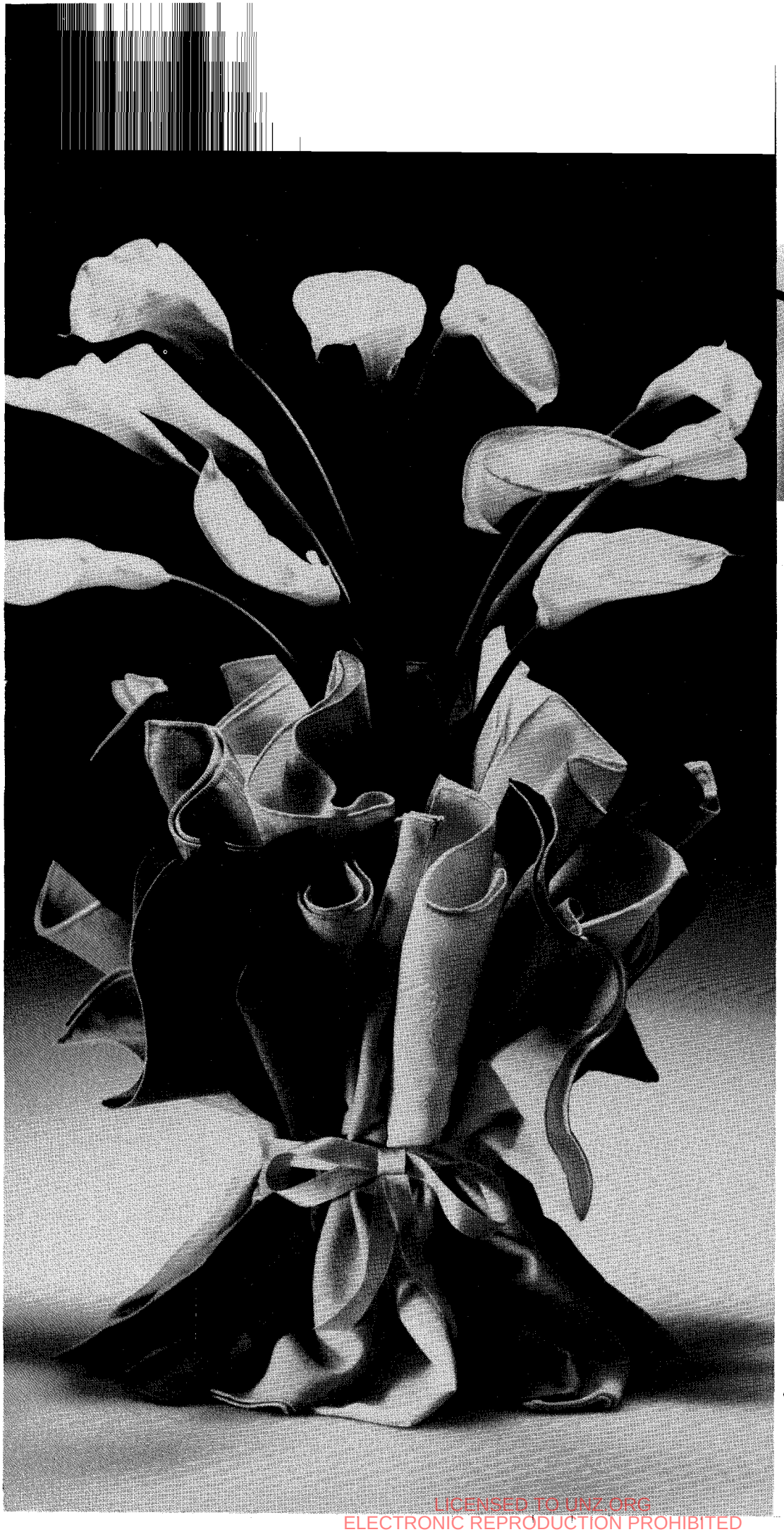

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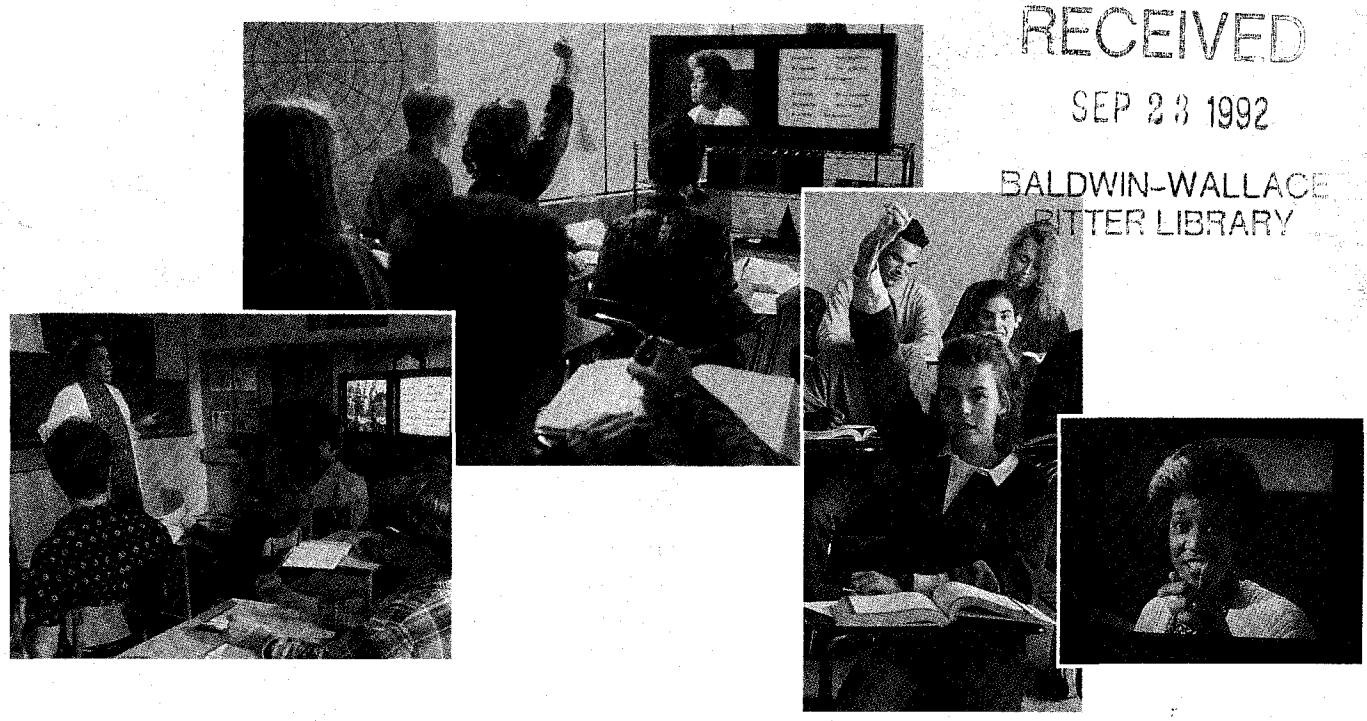

Students at three high schools in northwestern suburbs of Chicago now can take classes their schools might not have been able to afford otherwise—thanks to a system provided by Ameritech.

Called Distance Learning, the system is a new application for video conferencing, a service originally intended for business use. By video, a teacher can combine students from three schools to form a class and teach them simultaneously even though the schools are twenty miles apart. It's only one of many educational efforts Ameritech has under way. Our Buddy System, for example, is linking students and home computers with their schools and a whole world of information. We're also providing grants to students doing graduate work in telecommunications and supporting teachers writing curricula using our Ameritech PagesPlus® directories as learning tools.

At Ameritech, we're developing innovative products and services of all kinds to help make sure today's students aren't just ready to face the future, but to shape it.

For more information on our contributions to the quality of life in communities we serve, call 1-800/242-8580.

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